

From periphery to centre: the image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe

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**From Periphery to Centre.
The Image of Europe
at the Eastern Border of Europe**

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FROM PERIPHERY TO CENTRE. THE IMAGE OF EUROPE AT THE EASTERN BORDER OF EUROPE

Sorin ȘIPOȘ
Dan Octavian CEPRAGA

I. The awareness of the space in the Eastern part of the continent had already occurred in certain Western circles, and their interest increased progressively over time. The transition from “Little” to “Great Europe” was about to be made, and the Enlightenment, with its appetite for exotic realities, with its idea of “citizen of the universe”, with its cosmopolitan discourse, would provide a suitable framework in this sense. Since the end of the seventeenth century more people had become interested in learning about the spaces at the periphery of the civilized world, where economic, cultural and human transfers were produced. “Now – wrote Paul Hazard – Italians had their taste for travel revived; and the French were as restless as quicksilver”¹. “The German we refer to – added Paul Hazard – spared no effort: he climbed the mountains to the top; he followed rivers from the source to their mouths [...], he visited, taking notes, churches, monasteries, abbeys, public squares, town halls, aqueducts, fortresses, arsenals. [...] For the British, the journey was a complement to their education; the young noblemen fresh out of Oxford and Cambridge, crammed with guineas and accompanied by a wise preceptor, crossed the Strait and began the great tournament”². The historians, the art historians and the specialists in Anglo-Saxon literature associated the years 1680-1780 with the golden years of the great tour³. A large number of writings or objects preserved advocate the importance of this ritual by which young men from the greatest families leave for three years on the major roads of Europe in the company of a preceptor or with other people in their service⁴.

Prior to processing the information from the memoirs, diaries, reports or correspondence of the foreign travellers, we intend to clarify some issues related to the research methodology. First, we would like to specify the number of those who travelled in Eastern Europe, and especially in the Romanian space, and left

¹ Paul Hazard, *Criza conștiinței europene 1680-1715*. Traducere Sanda Șora. Prefață Romul Munteanu, București, 1973, p. 5.

² *Ibidem*, p. 6.

³ Gilles Bertrand, *Voyager dans l'Europe des années 1680-1780*, in *Les circulations internationales en Europe, années 1680- années 1780*. Sous la direction de Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire et Pierrick Pourchasse, Rennes, 2010, p. 243.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

documentary records. Both the number of those who left notes and the quality of the records on the Romanian territory are important. If a certain piece of information is recorded by several authors, for example the quality of the communication pathways, the historian may take it into consideration and compare it at the end with other internal documentary sources to check the reliability of the information.

A second problem that we address is to establish the formation of the traveller, the purposes of the travel and the direction from which he came to the Romanian Principalities. Why is the intellectual formation of the traveller important? It is important because the traveller who holds degrees in a particular area can make pertinent, diverse comments, but more importantly, critical comments. Also, his intellectual formation enables him to obtain information, at least theoretically, from previous works and from his contemporaries. The reasons of his travel are also important for the information gathered. A traveller hurried to get to the destination has less time and interest to describe the places he has been to and the people he encountered. In exchange, the political and economic missions he was charged with would therefore be more documented. The scientist, the art lover, the ethnographer would be more attentive to the natural resources, the natural landscape, the people, the customs and traditions, the past and the contemporary political realities.

II. "Like many others of my generation, I also believed, in the years before and after the war, in a Europe politically united under the seal of reason and equality of languages and cultures. And I still believe in it, even if this Europe, of which Federico Chabod wrote very suggestively, tracing the history of its idea together with that of the parallel and opposite one of "nation", this Europe has not yet been born, on the contrary, ever since its first institutions have been established, seems more distant than ever..."⁵

These words opened Gianfranco Folena's famous book *L'italiano in Europa* (1983), where it is not incidentally mentioned the name of the great Italian historian Federico Chabod, prominent representative of that generation of intellectuals who, after the war, believed in another, more dignified idea of Europe, with a civic enthusiasm and a high perspective, which is almost absent today. Although different in intention and disciplinary perspectives, Chabod's studies on the parallel and opposite ideas of Europe and nation, and Folena's research on the Italian language and European heteroglossia of the Enlightenment, had a common spiritual horizon, starting from similar ideal assumptions, considering Europe and the nation as a kind of homeland that can be freely and unconstrainedly joined, "under the seal of reason and equality of languages and cultures"⁶.

⁵ Gianfranco Folena, *L'italiano in Europa. Esperienze linguistiche del Settecento*, Torino, 1983, p. IX.

⁶ Cfr. Federico Chabod, *Storia dell'idea d'Europa*, Roma - Bari, 1961.

If we measured the distance that separates us from the first university courses dedicated by Chabod in 1943-44 to the idea of Europe, or the nearly thirty years that have passed since Folena's book appeared, we would undoubtedly find that many steps have been taken towards the political and economic unity of Europe. However, that intellectual and civic desideratum exposed so clearly by Folena, still seems unfulfilled. Even more so today, when its institutional existence can no longer be questioned, Europe is defined more precisely by what it lacks than by what it is.

III. The assumptions of our volume start from this perspective, comparing it to the current situation, in which the EU of the 27, in its new borders, and the potential Europe that begins to take shape with the new candidate countries, reveals itself as an entity with variable geometry, whose main problem is no longer its existence, but its relevance and deep cohesion.

The big problem assumed by the European projects was the identification and assuming of the values and common traditions that define Europe. Consequently, the interrogations of the European thinkers on the concept of Europe and the manner of perception of its Eastern border were numerous. What is Europe? What is the Eastern border of Europe? Is there an overlap between geographical, political, cultural and religious borders of Europe? And, equally important, what is the relation between *centre* and *periphery*, where does the *centre* end and where does the *periphery* begin, what kind of phenomena occur at the *peripheries* of two *centres*. Finally, we need to insert a new concept in these equations, namely the *image*, meaning the manners, the way they are seen, perceived by the contemporaries, and also *Europe, the border, the centre and the periphery*.

Unquestionably, for an accurate analysis of the concept of Europe, we must take into account the important moments in the historical evolution of the continent⁷. Like other continents Europe has also experienced moments that marked the forms of political organization and the types of relationships established in relation to the "others", to the strangers. A first milestone marking Europe's evolution is the split within the Christian church⁸. The religious separation from the middle of the eleventh century between Catholics and Orthodox was performed in connection with the power centres of the Europe of those times. This triggered a battle for supremacy between Rome and Byzantium⁹. The conquest of the capital of the Byzantine Empire by the knights of the Fourth Crusade intensified the animosity between the two spaces of Christianity¹⁰. The religious unification, a prerequisite for restoring the religious

⁷ Emmanuel Todd, *Inventarea Europei*. Traducere Beatrice Stanciu, Timișoara, 2002, p. 11.

⁸ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Geneza medievală a națiunilor moderne (secolele XIII-XVI)*, București, 1998, p. 124.

⁹ Jacques Le Goff, *Civilizația Occidentului medieval*, București, 1970, p. 199.

¹⁰ Jonathan Riely-Smith, *Storria delle Crociate. Dalla predicazione di papa Urbano II alla caduta di Constantinopoli*. Traduzione di Marina Bianchi, Milano, 2011, p. 248.

unity of Europe, accomplished as a result of the conquest of Constantinople, proved to be short-lived. The experience of the Fourth Crusade induced in the mentality of the Orthodox peoples the idea that the West is the main enemy of Orthodoxy. Only the Turks' arrival in Europe boosted the cooperation between the Orthodox states, which were in the front line against the Ottomans, and the Catholic kingdoms. The Christian Princes, Catholic and Orthodox alike, in order to overcome the differences and the mistrust between European states, insisted on the common grounds, which were more numerous¹¹. Thus, a solidarity was born in this part of Europe forged through the comparison with the "other", the stranger, in this case the Turk, the Muslim¹². The Ottoman expansion across Europe had major consequences for the Christian world. By the end of the seventeenth century the Ottoman frontier had moved to the Western Balkans and the Central Europe. The Austrian Reconquista started in 1683, after a period in which the Ottoman Empire seemed to permanently dominate large regions of the Central and South-Eastern Europe, brought again to the public attention the idea that in that part of Europe there were peoples who by traditions, languages, origins and confessions were closer to Europe than to the Ottoman Empire.

But Europe's political separation remained in the public consciousness for decades after the East area had been recaptured from the Turks. The boundaries that separated East and West were imaginary, but increasingly powerful since the eighteenth century, as evidenced by various French, Italian, Austrian missionaries, diplomats and military who crossed the Eastern European space either from the Baltic to the Carpathians and the Black Sea, or from west to east to St. Petersburg and Moscow, to Iași and Cetatea Albă or to Bucharest and Constantinople¹³. A major idea evolves from the travellers' records, namely that as they headed to east and south-eastern Europe they were entering a world with other values and principles, governed by a political system and traditions different from those of Western Europe. Count of Ségur, passing through Prussia into Poland in the winter of 1784-1785, was very aware of the fact that he had crossed a very important boundary. He felt that he "had completely left Europe" and moreover, that he "had travelled ten centuries back in time"¹⁴. Several

¹¹ Constantin Razachevici, *Rolul românilor în apărarea Europei de expansiunea otomană secolele XIV-XVI. Evoluția unui concept în contextul vremii*, București, 2001.

¹² Ioan-Aurel Pop, *op.cit.*, p. 90-92. Jean Delumeau, *Frica în Occident (secolele XIV-XVIII). O cetate asediată*, vol. II. Traducere, postfață și note de Modest Morariu, București, 1998. Elisabetta Borromeo, *Le «Turc» à l'âge moderne : itinéraire d'une image (du XVI^e jusqu'au début du XVIII^e siècle) : quelques réflexions*, in *Images des peuples et histoire des relations internationale du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*. Sous direction de Maria Matilde Benzoni, Robert Frank, Silvia Maria Pizzetti, Milano, Paris, 2008, p. 3-14.

¹³ Larry Wolff, *Inventarea Europei de Est. Harta civilizațiilor în Epoca Luminilor*. Traducere din engleză de Bianca Rizzoli, București, 2000, 539 p.

¹⁴ Larry Wolff, *Ibidem*, p. 21.

decades later, Marquis de Custine, located in Russia, noted, to conclude his visit, that: “You must have lived in this rest- free desert, in this prison without respite, which is called Russia, to rightly feel the entire freedom you enjoy in other countries in Europe, regardless of their form of government. If you encounter discontented people in France, use my method, and say to them: “Go to Russia. It is a travel useful to any foreigner; he, who will have seen properly this country, should be happy to live anywhere else”¹⁵. Unquestionably, in both travel stories we find an idea pervasive with most travellers, that they were at the edge of Europe, but outside its eastern border, in a different world, on another continent, having little in common with Europe. Russia was not the only empire where freedoms were not respected and tyranny was omnipresent. Foreign travellers criticized the social and political realities of the Ottoman Empire and of the countries under its influence. French officer Pierre Antoine Parfait Aubert considered that the country’s problems were not related to its economic potential, but, in broad terms, to poor management and administration¹⁶.

For Aubert, responsible for the bad management and leadership of the country was the Ottoman Empire: “The Turkish government will always be an obstacle to straightening this country. It gets from it several millions a year, neglecting resources”¹⁷. In fact, the evil in the empire, especially the sultans’ despotism and corruption contaminated the dependent provinces and the Phanariots represented the instruments by which the Porte acted in the Romanian states. They were, along with the sultan the promoters of the Ottoman policy in the Romanian Principalities, the beneficiaries of this evil system, but sometimes its victims too. In a few sentences, the French observer captures the political mechanism of Moldavia: “Moldavia is usually governed by a Greek Christian prince, receiving investiture from the Sultan. Intrigues and gold are the safest means of obtaining a principality. The one who, enjoying great influence at the Porte and with great riches, came to be called prince, had nothing better to do than to exploit his people; he covered himself in huge debts that he was forced to

¹⁵ Marchizul de Custine, *Scrisori din Rusia în 1839*. Ediție, prefață și dosar de Pierre Nora. Traducerea din franceză de Irina Negrea, București, 2007, p. 337.

¹⁶ *Service historique de l’armée de Terre*, Château de Vincennes, Dossier Pierre Antoine Parfait (nicknamed Aimé) Aubert, The successive services of Mr. Pierre Antoine Parfait (nicknamed Aimé) Aubert, adjutant of general of division Girardon. Born in Beaumont le Roger, Departament Eure on 10 March 1771. See also for the French officer’s biography Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *De la „Mica” la „Marea Europă” Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite” à la „Grande Europe” Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l’Europe. Études et documents*. Traducerea textelor. Traduction des textes: Delia-Maria Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, p. XXXII.

¹⁷ Aubert, *Notes statistiques sur la Pologne Russe, la Moldavie et la Valachie*, Service historique de l’armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes, fonds Turquie et Péninsule Illyrienne, 1M 1629/4, p.15. Apud. Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *op. cit.*, p. XXXV.

make. Moreover, he had no warranty. Plots which today have served to obtain the supreme authority can overthrow him tomorrow”¹⁸.

Aubert is not the first, nor the only one making such considerations on the account of the Phanariot regime. Most foreign travellers had come to similar conclusions.

Antoine François Le Clerc also observes a decline in all areas¹⁹. Responsible for the political, economic, moral and military crisis in the Romanian Principalities was the Ottoman Empire, it, too undergoing a deep crisis. “This situation”, notes Le Clerc, “led to the oppression of the people and completely destroyed the advantages that nature had given them. It is therefore not surprising that after more than a century, no ruler was noticeable for his wise and rescuing measures. None of them had the time to take them and everyone was afraid to upset the jealous owners less eager to improve the living conditions of the residents”²⁰.

In the context of Europe’s resizing and moving political borders across Carpathians, the Romanian space returned to the age-specific ideas. The Russian-Austrian-Turkish military conflicts gradually restored the Romanian world to the attention of the great powers. In Transylvania, in the context of the Counter-Reformation, an important part of the Romanians switched to the Greek Catholic Church. During one generation, the Romanian religious elite rediscovered the origin of the Romanian people and language and the age and the origin and the number of Romanians turned into weapons of political struggle in the case of Transylvanian Romanians in order to obtain political and civic rights. Beyond the Carpathians, the Moldavian boyars showed that the Romanian Principalities had benefitted, during the Middle Ages, of privileged relationships with the Porte, who acknowledged their autonomy and institutions²¹. In such a context, the stories of those who travelled and wrote about the Romanian space in previous centuries inform the West that, to the North of the Danube there is a people of Roman origin who, in the past, had been granted full autonomy by the Ottoman Empire²². The Napoleonic wars increased France's interest in South-Eastern Europe amid the outbreak of hostilities with Russia²³.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ Antoine-François Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene*. Ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv și note de Sorin Șipoș și Ioan-Aurel Pop, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 86p.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. XXI.

²¹ Vlad Georgescu, *Mémoires et projets de réforme dans les Principautés roumaines, 1769–1830*, București, 1970.

²² Șerban Papacostea, *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc. Studii critice*. Ediție adăugită, București, 1999, p. 240.

²³ Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România. Originile. Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*. Ediția a II-a integrală și

On the other hand, the replacing by the suzerain power of the native rulers with Phanar Greek princes, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, enhanced the Porte's influence and created the false impression that the Ottoman frontier crossed the Danube, that the Turks actually seized hold of the Romanian Principalities. However, the awareness, in certain Western circles, of the space in the Eastern part of the continent had already occurred, and their interest increased progressively over time. On the one hand, the emergence of the Eastern Question in the relations between the great powers of Europe, regarding the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, kept awake the attention of the political factors to the realities of the Lower Danube²⁴.

IV. Europe is impossible to define. Paul Valéry described Europe as "a small promontory of the Asian continent"²⁵. In other words, is it a myth that Europe is a continent different from Asia? Or where Asia ends and Europe begins? Is it possible for a continent that is slightly larger than a cape to have borders? By the end of the Cold War, from the perspective of many Western Europeans, Europe ended at the "Iron Curtain". From the point of view of Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary, the essence of Europe was found in the traditions of the civil society, in democracy and the Roman Catholicism. The result was that Central Europe migrated eastward, to the borders of Asia, being increasingly pushed towards Turkey and Russia. But this is only a political and cultural definition of the continent.

After the collapse of Communism and the EU extension to include many of the former Eastern European countries, the terms of Central and Eastern have been reinvented. The most notable example is the revival of the idea of Central Europe, which is no longer an extended and central part of the EU. The result is that Eastern Europe was pushed even further to the East. Given that the countries included in the area of Eastern Europe are themselves seeking EU status (some of which, such as the Ukraine and Belarus, are closely linked to Russia, which is further east), the notions of East and West are losing their traditional reference and are abandoned when talking of Europe. In the Balkans, a new East-West direction is observed after the division of Yugoslavia. Countries like Slovenia and Croatia are thought to be dominated by a Western Roman-Catholic and liberal tradition, distinguished from Serbia that belongs to Eastern tradition. In the West-East competition, it is interesting to note that the Muslim populations in Bosnia and Kosovo were allies of the liberal West, thus suggesting that identification of East with the Islam is not as fixed as one would think.

revăzută, București, 2000, p. 176-198; Jean Nouzille, *La diplomatie française et les Principautés au début du XIX^e siècle*, in *Revue Roumaine D'Histoire*, tome XXXVIII, N^{os} 1-4, Janvier-Décembre, București, 1999, p. 3-36.

²⁴ Andrei Oțetea, *Scrieri istorice alese*. Prefață de acad. David Prodan. Ediție și studiu introductiv de Florin Constantiniu și Șerban Papacostea, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, p. 69-176.

²⁵ G. Delanty, „The Resonance of Mitteleuropa: A Habsburg Myth or Anti-Politics?“, in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 14 (4), 1996, p. 93-108, apud. Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

In view of these considerations and in terms of the renegotiating of borders today, there is some logic in defining Europe as a boundary itself. Robert Bartlett showed that Europe was created in an ongoing process of colonization and extension towards the border regions²⁶.

Europe's borders and boundaries were possible only in relation to the proximity to other centres, in a history of changing relationships between centres and peripheries. Europe, as well as its limits, is a discursive structure. Where does Europe end is one question, but where will the EU have to end is a rather different and political issue, as noted by William Wallace²⁷.

The implication of this analysis is that Europe, becoming what Castells calls a "network society", has entered a period in which borders become a more complicated form. A "network society" is a society where networks replace hierarchies and boundaries dissolve into a kind of more democratic regions, the argument proposed here being that the networks establish new forms of borders and create more boundaries²⁸.

We believe that this critical perspective can provide interesting interpretative approaches for the analysis of the concept of Europe, the concept of the border, of the image of "the other", the stranger, the relationship between centre and periphery, all reflected in the chapters of this volume.

²⁶ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350*, London, Allen Lane, 1993, apud. Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş, *op. cit.*, p. VIII.

²⁷ W. Wallace, „Where Should EU Enlargement Stop?“, in *Whither Europe: Borders, Boundaries, Frontiers in a Changing World*, ed. R. Lindahl, Göteborg, CERGU, 2003, apud. Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş, *op. cit.*

²⁸ M. Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, apud. Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş, *op. cit.*

I.
PERIPHERY VIEWED FROM THE CENTRE

«TERRA ROMENA»

Lorenzo RENZI*

Abstract. *The author discusses Romanian noun phrases like Țara românească, Țara ungurească in comparison with other Romance languages and with Latin; he argues that Medieval Latin phrases like TERRA+ ethnic adjective (terra salica, terra francigena, etc...) could have been the model for the Romanian forms. The author also discusses the ethnic adjective românesc and provides some Italian parallels of adjectives formed with the Latin suffix -ISCUS.*

Keywords: *Romanian language, historical grammar, Romanian noun phrase, ethnic adjectives.*

Un'occasione come questa, per la quale sono grato con tutto il mio cuore all'Università di Oradea, mi suggerisce un esame di coscienza¹. Ho fatto veramente qualcosa di buono nello studio del romeno? Ho fatto abbastanza? Guardo le cose fatte e quelle, molto più numerose, che avrei potuto fare e non ho fatto, le cose che mi sono rimaste, come si diceva a scuola, nella penna. Sono molte, molte di più di quelle fatte. E quelle fatte avrei potuto farle meglio. Ma la energie migliori, riservate alla giovinezza, se ne sono andate.

Per rimediare in piccolissima parte, torno oggi a una cosa del passato e provo a completarla un po'. Ho dato nel 2000 un contributo a un tema molto interessante già trattato da diversi studiosi romeni e stranieri: le prime documentazioni sul popolo romeno, il nome con cui è chiamato, l'eventuale menzione dell'origine romana. Mi sono soffermato sull'espressione *a ști românește*, documentata per la prima volta nel 1534 dal padovano Francesco Dalla Valle, segretario di Alvise Gritti, figlio del Doge di Venezia, Andrea:

... se alcuno dimanda se sanno parlare in la lor lingua Valacca, dicono a questo modo: “sti Rominest?”, che vuol dire “Sai tu Romano?”, per essere corrotta la loro lingua²

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¹ Il presente intervento riprende il testo romeno della “Lectio magistralis” che ho tenuto in occasione della Laurea honoris causa conferitami dall'Università di Oradea il 6 giugno 2013.

² Il testo di Francesco Della Valle, *Narrazione di Francesco dalla Valle Padovano, della grandezza, virtù, valore ed infelice morte dell'Illustrissimo Signor Conte Aloise Gritti*, è stato pubblicato da Iván Nagy, *Gritti Alajost illető eredeti emlőkiratok*, in «Magyar Történelmi Társulat», 1875, pp. 1-116; vedi anche Adolf Armbruster, *La Romanité des Roumains. Histoire d'une*

Riprendendo in parte quel vecchio studio, vorrei discutere l'avverbio *românește* e farlo assieme alla denominazione *Țara Românească*. Nei due casi introdurrò dei paralleli con le lingue romanze occidentali, soprattutto con l'italiano, mostrando che, nonostante le sue particolarità storiche e linguistiche, il romeno non è poi così isolato dalla romanità occidentale come qualche volta si dice.

1. Al sintagma *Țara Românească* ha dedicato la sua attenzione di linguista storico, anzi di storico *tout court*, Alexandru Niculescu, mio maestro e amico, che mi ha indotto tanti anni fa a studiare il romeno e la linguistica romena. Non posso non ricordare con riconoscenza il suo nome in questa occasione festosa.

Scrivendo Alexandru Niculescu che i sintagmi *Țara Românească*, e anche *Țara Ungurească*, *Țara Basarabească*, avrebbero un modello slavo: le cronache slavone (soprattutto serbe) hanno *Vlaskoe zemlya o Zemlya Vlaska* lett. 'terra Valacca', *Zemlya Basarabska*, 'terra Bassarabiana' ecc³. Ho detto "modello", ma in termini più tecnici si può dire che la denominazione romena è un "calco" di quella slava, di cui riprende la forma sintattica *Nome comune + aggettivo* designante un popolo. A proposito di *Țara Românească* Niculescu sottolinea che «il neonato stato dei Romeni aveva una denominazione ufficiale slava!», cioè, precisiamo, calcata sullo slavo. Lo slavone era del resto, oltre alla lingua della chiesa ortodossa nei paesi romeni, anche quella dell'amministrazione; il romeno non si manifesterà come lingua scritta che nel Cinquecento. Nel mondo europeo occidentale il ruolo del latino resterà fondamentale fino circa allo stesso periodo, anche se i "volgari" germanici o romanzi si sono manifestati più precocemente che in Oriente.

Accanto a questo tipo c'è anche il tipo genitivale, realizzato con il caso genitivo: *Țara Moldovei* (*Țara Moldovenească* non sembra attestato) *Țara Maramureșului*, *Țara Oașului*, *Țara Hațegului*, *Bârsei*, *Loviștei*, *Almăjului*, *Făgărașului*, *Vrancei*; e al pl. *Țara Moților*⁴. Si tratta questa volta di una struttura latino-romanza, il cui corrispondente latino si trova nelle cronache ungheresi: *terra Lythuvi*, *terra Szeneslai* *Woiawode Olatorum*, *terra Zeurina* (*Țara*

idée, Bucarest, Editura Academiei, 1977; Lorenzo Renzi, *Ancora sugli Umanisti italiani e la lingua rumena*, in «Romanische Forschungen», 112/1, 2003, pp. 1-38, con la rispettiva bibliografia, e *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. II, îngrijit de Maria Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru și Paul Cernovodeanu, București, Editura Științifică, 1970, pp. 158-161.

³Alexandru Niculescu è tornato in diverse occasioni su tale argomento, cfr.: Alexandru Niculescu, *Roumain țară*, in «Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris», LXXIX/1, 1984, pp. 247-251; Id., 'Țara Românească': *linguistique et histoire in Traiani Augusti vestigia sequemur. Studia linguistica in honorem Lilianae Tasmowski*, a cura di Martine Coene, Walter de Mulder, Patrick Dendale, Yves D'Hulst, Padova, Unipress, 2000, pp. 823-827; nonché nel capitolo *Slavo-romanica (o Romano-slavica)* din Id., *L'altra latinità. Storia linguistica del romeno tra Oriente e Occidente*, a cura di Alvaro Barbieri, Dan O. Cepraga e R. Scagno, Verona, Fiorini, 2007.

⁴Cfr. Niculescu, *Roumain țară*, cit., p. 249.

Severinului), ecc. Si tratta, si chiede Niculescu, di una influenza del latino medievale in Romania?⁵ È probabile. Nelle cronache c'è anche «Terra transalpina de Bazarab Woywodam Olachus», con il *de* preposizionale, proprio come nei documenti italiani che vedremo (dove però segue sempre, a differenza di qui, un nome geografico, mentre qui abbiamo il nome di un signore, *Basarab*, seguito dal titolo, *voivod*, e dall'etnico *valacco*, cioè romeno).

È assolutamente probabile che la prima delle forme che abbiamo visto, quella di *Țara Românească*, sia in romeno un calco dallo slavo, come sostiene Niculescu con valide ragioni. Tuttavia è interessante notare che del primo dei due tipi si trovano esempi anche nell'Occidente romanzo. Il tipo “*Terra* + aggettivo etnico” è largamente attestato in latino medievale, e il Vocabolario di Du Cange, che è un vastissimo repertorio di forme del latino medievale, ne dà variesempi in ambito francese: *Terra salica* ‘terra del re franco, dei Franchi’, ‘Francia’, *Terra francigena* ‘Francia’; e, con un aggettivo non etnico e con passaggio dal nome comune a nome proprio: *Terra sancta* > ‘Terrasanta’, fr. *Terre sainte*, it. *Terrasanta*, cfr. ted. *Heiliges Land* (in greco, che certamente precede, abbiamo *Ἅγιοι Τόποι*, in lat. *Loca sancta*). A questa seconda sottovarietà appartengono denominazioni come *Terrae Salsae* (in fr. *marais* ‘palude’, nel Poitou) e molti altri sintagmi (*terra plana*, *terra silvestris*, *terra tenax*, *terra vacua*, *terra vestita*, ecc.) che sono all'origini di vari toponimi.

È possibile che, accanto al modello slavo segnalato da Niculescu (e alla possibilità di una formazione autoctona), anche il modello latino medievale, nell'uso che ne faceva la corona di Ungheria, abbia contribuito a fornire il modello linguistico di *Țara Românească* e delle altre forme simili? Penso che la cosa non si possa escludere.

In italiano moderno, apparentemente, formazioni simili non sembrerebbero possibili, perché oggi *terra*, benché uguale al latino e equivalente del rom. *țară*, non può più voler dire “territorio, paese, stato”. La parola che si usa oggi in questo significato è *paese* (che in questa accezione è un prestito dell'Ottocento dal fr. *pays*, a sua volta, crederei, calco dell'ingl. *country*). Ma in italiano antico e per alcuni secoli la parola *terra* con questo particolare significato è ben documentata. Così il *Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana* dà come sesto significato di it. *terra*: «estensione, tratto più o meno ampio di territorio; regione, stato, paese, spesso con l'indicazione toponomastica», e «in particolare territorio soggetto a un'autorità costituita o riconosciuta o su cui si estende il dominio di un monarca, di un signore, ecc.; regno, feudo»⁶. Sono definizioni equivalenti a quelle del romeno e già valide per il latino medievale. Ci sono pertanto esempi del tutto simili a quelli romeni che abbiamo visto fin qui.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 250.

⁶ Cfr. *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* di Salvatore Battaglia, 19 voll. + supplementi, UTET, Torino, 1961 ss. [GDLI].

Mi risulta un solo caso di «terra + aggettivo etnico» (il tipo di *Țara Romanescă*): «nel paese di terra navarrese» (Brunetto Latini, 1220 ca.- 1294 o 1295), GDLI s.v. *terra*, accezione 6). Diversamente dalle formazioni romene, però, questa non è una denominazione ufficiale della regione pirenaica, come succede invece con alcuni tipi genitivali che vedremo subito, ma di una costruzione occasionale, che era comunque tra le potenzialità dell'italiano, come lo era in quelle del romeno.

Formazioni genitivali del tipo del romeno *Țara Maramureșului*, *Țara Oașului*, *Țara Moților*, non sono e non erano possibili né in italiano né nelle altre lingue romanze occidentali, data la mancanza di un genitivo morfologico, che tra le lingue romanze ha solo il romeno.

Sono numerose invece in italiano le formazioni genitivali con la preposizione DE come nel tipo espresso in latino per un territorio romeno: «Terra transalpina de Bazarab Woywodam Olachus». Eccone alcuni esempi (sempre dal GDLI s.v. *terra*): *in terra d'Abruzzo* (Guido Guinizelli, sec. XIII); *terra d'Egitto* (Bibbia volgare, fine sec. XIII); *terra del duca di Savoia* (Davila, sec. XVI-XVII). Gli esempi citati qui e gli altri contenuti nel Dizionario sono antichi, a parte qualche ripresa letteraria moderna, per es. «terra d'Abruzzo», che Gabriele D'Annunzio nella poesia *I pastori* riprende tale e quale da Guinizelli⁷. Così anche in *Liguria* di Vincenzo Cardarelli (1887-1959) troviamo il verso «è la Liguria una terra leggiadra...», di chiara impronta letteraria⁸.

Questo tipo genitivale ha dato origine in italiano ad alcune denominazioni amministrative ufficiali, proprio come in romeno (tutte antiche e scomparse oggi, almeno come denominazioni ufficiali)⁹:

- *Terra d'Otranto*, antica circoscrizione amministrativa del Regno di Sicilia, poi Regno di Napoli, poi Regno delle due Sicilie, infine del Regno d'Italia, abolita nel 1927¹⁰;

- *Terra di Bari* comprendeva il territorio delle province del regno di Napoli che confinavano con il Salento, con la Basilicata e la Capitanata; il nome esiste già all'epoca di Federico II e i confini furono precisamente definiti sul finire del sec. XIII.

⁷ Nella stessa poesia si trova anche *tremolar della marina*, palese citazione da Dante, *Purgatorio* I, v.115.

⁸ In questo verso sono letterari anche il verbo 'essere' copulativo in prima posizione davanti al soggetto e l'aggettivo prezioso *leggiadro*, come pure sono letterari, nella parte che segue («il sasso ardente, l'argilla polita si avvivano di pampini al sole»), l'aggettivo *polito*, il verbo *avvivarsi* e anche l'uso della preposizione *a* retta da *avvivarsi*.

⁹ Per tutti questi toponimi, vedi *Dizionario di toponomastica: storia e significato dei nomi geografici italiani*, a cura di Giuliano Gasca Queirazza, Carla Marcato, Giovan Battista Pellegrini et alii, UTET, Torino, 1990.

¹⁰ Citato anche in Al. Niculescu, *Țările Românilor - Țara Românească*, in Id., *Individualitatea limbii române între limbile romanice*. 4. *Elemente de istorie culturală*, Clusium, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 106.

- Quanto a *Terra di Lavoro* (lat. *Terra Laboris*, attestato nell'anno 817), è derivato in realtà etimologicamente dal nome proprio latino *Leburni*, «terra (possedimento) di Leburno» (prediale), ma è stato reinterpretato poi come 'terra di lavoro', cioè territorio agricolo, entrando così a far parte del tipo sintattico che consideriamo qui¹¹.

Del resto, anche in romeno le denominazioni corrispondenti hanno cessato tutte di essere ufficiali, e *Țara Romanescă* è diventata *România* sul modello dei nomi di altre nazioni europee.

2. Dopo avere commentato così l'elemento nominale *țară* in *Țara Românească*, finiamo con una nota sull'aggettivo etnico *românesc*, che, come *român*, indica il popolo e la lingua. Naturalmente fiumi di inchiostro sono scorsi sull'etnico *român* < ROMANUS. Quanto alla forma *românesc*, è ricavata dalla stessa forma più il suffisso-*esc* (lat. < -ĪSCUS), che troviamo in numerosi aggettivi come *bărbătesc*, *ciobănesc*, *omenesc*, *frățesc*, *firesc*, ecc. tra cui etnici antichi e più recenti come *unguresc*, *nemțesc*, *turcesc*, *italianesc*, ecc.

Anche in ital. -*esco*, dallo stesso lat. -ĪSCUS, dà vita a numerosi aggettivi come *bambinesco*, *cavalleresco*, *contadinesco*, *donnesco*, ecc. e a molti etnici come *romanesco* ('di Roma'), *barbaresco*, *moresco*, *turchesco*, e anticamente anche *francesco* 'francese'¹². In particolare *romanesco* designa, tra l'altro, la parlata popolare di Roma, dal Medioevo a oggi.

In romeno accanto alle forme in -*escu* abbiamo anche le forme avverbiali in -*ește*, come *bărbătește*, *ciobănește*, *omenește*, *frățește*, che possono essere considerate come le forme avverbiali degli aggettivi in -*esc*.¹³ *Românește*, se non preceduto da preposizione, ha valore solo linguistico: si dice *a vorbi*, *a scrie*, *a învăța*, *a ști românește* (come riporta Dalla Valle nel 1534 e come si dice ancora oggi)¹⁴. In italiano invece una forma di questo tipo non esiste. Non è il solo caso in cui la morfologia del romeno si mostra più ricca di quella dell'italiano, e in realtà di ogni altra lingua romanza. L'equivalente di *a vorbi românește* in it. potrebbe essere un'espressione del tipo *parlare in romanesco* (cioè 'parlare la lingua popolare di Roma'). La somiglianza è comunque sorprendente.

¹¹ Cfr. *Dizionario di toponomastica...*, cit.

¹² Cfr. Gerhard Rohlfs *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, Einaudi, Torino, 1992-1994, vol. III, par. 1121. Alcune di queste forme sono antiche, come *romanesco*, e *proenzalesco* (nel *Contrasto bilingue* di Rambaldo di Vaqueiras, della fine del Duecento), altre saranno analogiche. La serie non è più produttiva in italiano moderno.

¹³ Così afferma Andreea Dinică in *Gramatica limbii române, I Cuvântul*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2007, p. 586. Per la stessa studiosa, la -*e* finale sarebbe quella con cui si formano gli avverbi in latino (cioè il caso, preciso io, di *longus / longe*, *perfectus / perfecte*, ecc. in cui la forma in -*e* è l'antico strumentale). Ma la cosa non è plausibile perché nessuna lingua romanza ha mantenuto questa possibilità (cfr. anche Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Fues, Leipzig, 1890-1902, par. 619). D'altra parte, non è facile offrire un'ipotesi alternativa.

¹⁴ Così Carmen Mîrza Vasile e Andreea Dinică in *The Grammar of Romanian*, ed. by Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, p. 433.

Abbiamo voluto mostrare con questi due esempi non l'identità delle formazioni rumene e di quelle italiane discusse, ma la loro parziale affinità. Questa affinità si è realizzata nonostante le storie in parte (ma solo in parte) diverse dei due paesi (*țări*!). Le somiglianze che abbiamo notato e le molte altre che si potrebbero indicare, sono dovute al fatto che le due lingue, per la comune origine latina e forse anche per alcuni sviluppi paralleli, possiedono un ricco deposito di mezzi linguistici simili¹⁵.

¹⁵ Vedi anche Lorenzo Renzi, *Italiano e romeno*, in Id. *Le piccole strutture. Linguistica, poetica, letteratura*, a cura di Alvis Andreose, Alvaro Barbieri, Dan Octavian Cefruga, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2009, pp. 155-170.

THE CRUSADES – CAUSE OF TENSION BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE

Ion Alexandru MIZGAN*

Abstract. *The crusades represent one of the most complex phenomena of the Middle Ages and in time many historians have tried to untangle the mysteries which generated them. According to most historians, political, religious and economic factors are working together to create the crusade phenomena. One of the important consequences of the Western knights' expeditions in the East is the worsening or tensioning relationships between the Byzantine Empire and the Western Europe. Many times the Western knights blamed the Byzantines for the failure of the Westerns troops in the Orient and considered that in order to enjoy a complete success, Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, had to be conquered. This happened during the Fourth Crusade, in 1204, when Constantinople was conquered and plundered by the Western knights. As British historian Steven Runciman has pointed out, this tore apart the Eastern and the Western worlds forever.*

Keywords: *crusades, Middle Ages, Constantinople, Byzantine Empire.*

The Genesis of the Crusades

When defining the Crusades, many historians state that they are a complex phenomenon typical for the feudal era of the Middle Ages¹, which was generated by several factors. Etymologically, *the Crusades* denote the name given to military expeditions undertaken by the feudal Western knights between 1096-1270 in the Middle East under the pretext of liberation of the Holy Places, namely Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre². The concept or term of *crusade* appeared in Medieval Latin before the middle of the thirteenth century, the participants in these expeditions being called *Crusaders*, after the red sign of the

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¹ Ioan Rămureanu, Milan Şesan, Teodor Bodogae, *Istoria bisericească universală*, vol.II, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Bucureşti, 1993, p. 17.

² Romanian Academy, "Iorgu Iordan" Linguistic Institute, *Dicţionarul Explicativ al Limbii Române*, ediţia a II-a, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, Bucureşti, 1998, p. 244; Vasile Breban, *Dicţionar al limbii române*, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1980, p. 130.

Holy Cross that they had sewn on their clothes³. In most historians' opinion, the Crusades can be defined as military expeditions of the Western feudal people sponsored by the Church of Rome, in order to conquer and colonize certain regions of the Middle East, especially Palestine and Jerusalem, which had fallen into the hands of Muslims. Contemporary historians differ in their assessment of the Crusades and of their purposes, the complexity of the crusades phenomenon making the clear separation of the causes which delimited it impossible. The American historian Williston Walker states that crusading expeditions are in many respects the most remarkable phenomena of the Middle Ages⁴. Historian A.S. Atiya believes that the Crusades should be regarded as a huge demonstration of the medieval ideal of superstate political unity, of establishment of that "Respublica Christiana", greatly discussed at that time⁵. Another historian, H.E.J. Cowdrey, identifies several factors responsible for the genesis of the Crusades in the Middle Ages: population growth, the intertwining of the social and religious issues in the class of kings, a radical change of the official Christian ethics of war and the stress of the penitential system of the Western Church which burdened the society of the times⁶. Thus, the nature and causes of the Crusades were both religious and secular. They emerged in a society booming from a political and military point of view, being attended by all classes and walks of life, from simple peasants or city dwellers to kings or emperors.

Stemmed from the social-economic, political and religious conditions of the time, the Crusades are distinct from the regular military expeditions due to their international character and their religious mark. Their religious aspect is proved by the fact that these expeditions were accompanied from the beginning by a Christian ideology. Researcher Florentina Căzan from the University of Bucharest considers the Crusades from the eleventh-thirteenth centuries first of all as expeditions of conquest and colonization, being the expression of a Europe which found itself in a process of deep transformation and economic expansion, which involved a number of social changes⁷. The same researcher notes that these expeditions, being generated by a moral-religious feeling that overlapped material interests, were one by one regarded by historiography, sometimes as a heroic epic, nourished by a noble ideal, and other times as a mystical exaltation

³ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria vieții bizantine. Imperiul și civilizația după izvoare*, Traducere de Maria Holban, Editura Enciclopedică Română, București, 1974, p. 391.

⁴ Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1959, p. 219.

⁵ A. S. Atiya, *The Crusader in the Middle Ages*, London, 1938, p. 3.

⁶ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War*, in *The Holy War. Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 5th, Edited by Thomas Patrick Murphy, Ohio State University Press: Columbus, 1976, p. 24.

⁷ Florentina Căzan, *Cruciadele. Momente de confluență între două civilizații și culturi*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1990, p. 9.

or as a form of aggression, justified only by the desire of conquest of the Western feudal people, by the thirst to fight, both urges being disguised under a religious coating⁸.

No matter how they were judged, the importance of the Crusades cannot be denied, as they are undoubtedly the major political phenomenon of Occidental Middle Ages by both their duration and their multiple implications in the different spheres of social, economic political, cultural and religious life. Historian Williston Walker stresses the importance of the economic aspect, but goes further by showing how it has influenced the religious feeling⁹. The very difficult economic conditions of the eleventh century had led to the deepening of the religious feeling, which was expressed through monastic and ascetic forms with a strong sense of the afterlife. The strong religious feeling of the eleventh century had led to the reform of papacy which took place at that time. Therefore, it is no surprise that the regions that have strongly influenced this reform (France, Lorraine, Southern Italy) were those from which most of the Crusaders were recruited.

The complex phenomenon of the Crusades has received much attention from older or newer historians, a very rich literature existing nowadays in this regard. For a more balanced and genuine perception of the Crusades phenomenon we recommend the work dedicated to the Crusades of the renowned British historian Steven Runciman¹⁰, a work through which the famous historian put an end to the deformed Western tradition on the Crusades, which idealized the Western knights who fought in the name of the Cross. By analyzing the impact of the Crusades in the Eastern world objectively, with scientific exactness and without prejudices, Steven Runciman's scientific approach has become a reference point for the researchers of history, even if today there are historians who do not fully share the point of view of the distinguished British historian¹¹.

Unlike Western historiography before him which largely saw the Crusaders as heroes who fought against the barbarians, relying on Eastern sources (Muslim, Greek and Armenian), Steven Runciman said that the "Holy War" of the Crusaders, held in God's name was often polluted by cruelty and greed, being a sin against the Holy Spirit. The British History shows that the Crusades in general and especially the Fourth Crusade, brought to an end the

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁹ Williston Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

¹⁰ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3. vol., Cambridge University Press, London, 1951-1954.

¹¹ First of all, we consider historians Alfred J. Andrea and Thomas F. Madden who condemn Steven Runciman for not taking into account the previous research on the issue of Crusades. In reality, Runciman did nothing but show, based on the Eastern sources during Crusades, that those who went in these expeditions were not animated only by noble ideals, but that their deeds were often extremely cruel.

separation between East and West, making the reconciliation between the two Christian worlds impossible¹².

Starting with the eleventh century, the *chivalrous ideal* proposed by the clergy of that period was born in the West. It was favoured by the reform of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085), who decisively strengthened the idea that the Church, especially the papacy, could have wars for their own purpose, against both internal and external enemies. For the time being, the Church was allowed to use armed force against local agitators and against “*infidels*”, namely against Arabs. It is than that, expressions such as “*militia Christi*” or “*militia Sancti Petri*” come into being to designate the warriors from the Pope’s service¹³. This fact was recorded by the Greek historian Aristeides Papadakis who showed that the assimilation of the class of warriors in the life of the Church was encouraged by the reforming papacy, Gregory VII being the most warlike of the popes¹⁴.

In the Western Christian world, pilgrimages to the Holy Places had a special meaning, thanks to the canonical decisions adopted by the Western Church in this regard. For example, the second canon of the Council of Clermont from 1095¹⁵ provided: “*If someone decides out of pure devotion, and not to his own glory, or for any earthly use, to free the Church of God in Jerusalem, then the journey made by him shall be considered as an act of penance*”¹⁶. Originally, pilgrims to the Holy Places had no right to carry weapons, but after papacy’s preaching of the Crusades, the expeditions of this kind became an armed pilgrimage. The militarization of the pilgrimage would become attractive to the European knight. The soldier could gain eternal life through the *holy war*¹⁷. Pilgrimages were not a new thing in the eleventh century. They were practiced since early times and had continued in Palestine after the Arab conquest, but along with the conquest of Asia Minor by the Seljuk Turks (after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and after their conquest of Palestine 1078), pilgrimages were quite hindered. Pilgrims who enjoyed great prestige in the eyes of the people of the West, hampered by the presence and behaviour of Seljuk Turks in the Holy Places, were those who urged the regain of these places out of the hands of the Turks. Their call was positively received by Pope Gregory VII, who was thinking

¹² Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, volume III, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1954, p. 131.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

¹⁴ Aristeides Papadakis, *The Christian East and The Rise of the Papacy: The Church 1071-1453 A.D.*, Crestwood, St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1994, p. 82.

¹⁵ Council held on November 27, 1095 in France, under Pope Urban II (1088-1099), who asked by means of a passionate the release by the Holy Land.

¹⁶ Philippe Contamine, *Un război pentru împărăția cerurilor*, in the volume *Cruciadele*, cuvânt înainte de Robert Delort, traducere de George Micacio, Editura Artemis, București, 1999, p. 99-100, p. 103.

¹⁷ Aristeides Papadakis, *op. cit.*, p.83.

about establishing a universal monarchy of the Pope over the whole Christian world in the West and Central Europe¹⁸.

Despite the fact that at first the Crusades were directed against the Muslim Middle East, they were inimical to the interests of the Byzantine Empire. The suspicion of the Byzantines against the Crusades was driven by certain political considerations, by the excesses of the Crusaders on the lands of the Empire, as well as by the anti-Orthodox attitude of the Crusaders, who saw the Greek only as a nation of schismatics who broke with the Church of Rome. The Crusades of the thirteenth century, namely the Fourth Crusade, were nothing but a manifestation of the Latins' hostility toward the Byzantine Empire. Helene Ahrweiler believed that "*the very purpose of the Crusade, namely the war for the liberation of the Holy Places, left speechless the Byzantines who saw it, at the very least, as an attempt to usurp their title of defenders of Christianity and (...) a pretext to mask the unconfessed expansionist projects of the West against the East*"¹⁹. Historian Șerban Papacostea shows that the Western world engaged ever since the second half of the eleventh century in a big assault on Islam in the Mediterranean, has decisively oriented its expansionist tendencies toward the Eastern part of the continent, towards the vast territories dominated by Byzantium and by the peoples formed in its area of civilization²⁰. Florentina Căzan believes that without the idea of political unity of Europe, of an *imperium mundi*, the successor of the Roman Empire, sponsored by Rome and by the Western Church, the Crusades would not have existed²¹. Historian Șerban Papacostea shows that the symbol which conducted the conquering momentum of the Latin world in the East was the Catholic faith and its military crusading expression. The force which has conducted and coordinated the expansion was the Western Church, which manifests universal ambitions and which reached the peak of prestige and of its means of action. The ultimate goal of theocratic papacy at that time was the restoration of Christian unity thorough the integration under its own guidance both of the Eastern Church and of the pagan peoples on the European continent²².

The Fourth Crusade occupies a special place among the Western expeditions in the East, due to the consequences it has had on the Byzantine civilization, on the relations between East and West, and on the religious-political situation in the South-Eastern European area. According to British historian Steven Runciman, the devastation of Constantinople by the knights of the Fourth

¹⁸ Milan Šesan, *Cruciadele și Biserica Ortodoxă*, Cernăuți, 1938, p. 12.

¹⁹ Helene Ahrweiler, *Ideologia politică a Imperiului bizantin*, Postfață de Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, traducere de Cristina Jinga, Editura Corint, București 2002, p. 74.

²⁰ Șerban Papacostea, *România în secolul al XIII-lea. Între cruciadă și Imperiul mongol*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1993, p. 7.

²¹ Florentina Căzan, *op. cit.*, p. 7-8.

²² Șerban Papacostea, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Crusade is the climax of the separation between the East and the West, which had made the reconciliation between the two Churches impossible, despite the attempts of union that followed until the fall of Constantinople under the Turks in 1453²³. In the following lines we will present the tensions generated by the first Crusades between East and West of Europe.

The 1054 moment in the confrontation between Constantinople and Rome

American historian John Meyendorff considers the Schism between Constantinople and Rome in the eleventh century as the most tragic event in the history of the Church, which largely determined the fate of the East and of the West²⁴. British theologian Timothy Ware states in a church history work that the divergences between Mihail Cerularie and Cardinal Humbert conventionally mark the beginning of the Great Schism between the Eastern and the Western Church. British historian J.M. Hussey formally showed that the separation between the two Churches appeared when, following the arrogant attitude of the papal legate Humbert, the Church of Constantinople ceased to mention the Pope during the Mass²⁵. Historian Nicolas Zernov catalogued the Schism between East and West as one of the greatest calamities or disasters in the history of the Church²⁶. One of the greatest church historians of our country, Professor Teodor M. Popescu, rightly considered that the Schism between East and West could not be seen and understood only in the context of the conflicts in the ninth and eleventh centuries, as the causes of the distancing between East and West were much older and deeper²⁷. Historian John Meyendorff also points out that it would be wrong to cling to the idea of the existence of an undivided Church in the first Christian millennium as the Church knew schisms and heresies ever since its inception²⁸. Most historians agree that the Schism between East and West, which became permanent in time, did not appear suddenly; instead, it gradually deepened and cannot be dated²⁹. Nicolas Zernov shows that the Schism was a gradual process that developed up to hatred and hostility³⁰. The evolution of Christian life throughout history recorded differences in terms of the theological nature and liturgical practice between the Christian communities from the East

²³ Steven Ruciman, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

²⁴ J. Meyendorff, *Biserica Ortodoxă ieri și azi*, Editura Anastasia, ediție nouă revăzută și editată de J. Meyendorff și N. Lossky, traducere Cătălin Lazurca, București, 1996, p. 39.

²⁵ J. M. Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, ed. 3, London, 1967, p. 42.

²⁶ Nicolas Zernov, *The Church of the Eastern Christians*, London, 1942, p. 6.

²⁷ Teodor M. Popescu, „Geneza și evoluția Schismeii”, in *Ortodoxia*, București, nr. 3, 1954, p. 166.

²⁸ J. Meyendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²⁹ Idem, *Rome, Constantinople, Moscow. Historical and Theological Studies*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996, p. 7.

³⁰ Nicolas Zernov, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

and from the West³¹. Political changes led to an increasing differentiation between the world of the Orient and that of the Occident, which developed separately, this situation obviously creating conflicts and misunderstandings that would deepen the schism between East and West³². Historian Nicolas Zernov highlights the importance of political causes in the increase of hostility between East and West³³. Thus, the Schism was an event that occurred slowly, rose discreetly, favoured by multiple causes, political and religious, the act of 1054 being just a brutal confirmation of hostilities gathered in time³⁴.

Religiously, the most favoured element which divided the two Christian worlds was the emergence of the papal primacy, which regarded itself as the final forum in doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters of the bishop of Rome³⁵. The ecclesiological tensions on the subject have appeared since the fourth century and widened over time especially after the coronation of Charles the Great and the emergence of the Carolingian Empire. Westerners' claims on papal primacy came against the Eastern concept of a Church based on the authority of the Ecumenical Councils. Historian J. Meyendorff shows that divergences from the ninth and eleventh centuries between Constantinople and Rome broke when the political interests of the Frankish Empire were mistaken for the canonical claims of the papacy to unite in a common opposition against Byzantium³⁶. When the religious conflict between Rome and Constantinople broke out in the ninth and eleventh centuries the Pope in Rome was not alone, but had his French or German king. The opposition between the two Empires on the question of legitimacy appeared at that time, the two Empires disputing over both territories and rights. There was a competition between the two Empires in terms of their missionary activity among the non-Christian peoples, the Christian mission becoming thus a political issue³⁷. Moreover, the distancing of both worlds became apparent in

³¹ It is enough to mention the Eastern and baptismal controversy in the first Christian centuries, and the Schism of Hippolytus, Novatian, Meletius, the Acacian schism or heresies such as: Manichaeism, Montanism, Hiliasm, Donatism, Pelagianism, etc. See the American historian John Meyendorff: *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450-680 A.D. (The Church in history series, vol. II)*, St. Vladimirs Seminary, 2011, 417 p.

³² The separation of the two worlds from a political point of view began in the time of Emperor Diocletian (284-305), and by the movement of the Empire's capital to Constantinople in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great (306-337) and was completed by the descendants of Theodosius the Great (379-395).

³³ Nicolas Zernov, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³⁴ Lucian Gafton, „Agravarea Schismei prin încercările de unire din secolele XI-XV”, in *Ortodoxia*, București, anul VIII, nr. 3, 1956, p. 397.

³⁵ Wladimir Guettee, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-67.

³⁶ J. Meyendorff, *Biserica Ortodoxă ieri...*, p. 43.

³⁷ Dimitri Obolensky, *Un commonwealth medieval: Bizanțul. Europa de Răsărit 500-1453*, traducere de Claudia Dumitriu, Postfață de Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, Editura Corint, București, 2002, pp. 152-255.

terms of linguistic communication. One could hardly find a translator of Latin in the eleventh century in Constantinople³⁸.

The introduction of Filioque in the Western Church by Pope Benedict VIII (1012-1024) on February 14, 1014 at the request of Emperor Henry II (1002-1024), who wanted to hear the Creed Symbol with Filioque³⁹ addition being sung at his coronation and the use of the azymes⁴⁰, that is of the unleavened bread during the Holy Eucharist, increased tensions between the two Christian worlds. Of all the differences between Constantinople and Rome in the first Christian millennium the most important weight, however, was the *papal primacy*⁴¹ and the claims of the bishops of Rome to extend the supremacy and jurisdiction in the East. For this, the Papacy took advantage of the difficult situation through which the Byzantine Empire passed in the second half of the eleventh century and of the appearance of the Turks at the boundary of the Byzantine Empire.

Byzantium and Western Crusaders

In the early eleventh century, the Byzantine Empire continued to hold its top position as the most important country in the world. During Emperor Basil II the Macedonian (976-1025) Empire lived its glory days⁴².

But soon after the death of this king Byzantium's decline started, the last centuries of Byzantium history being the most troubled of its existence, as periods of prosperity and violent crises alternated until the final catastrophe of 1453. The period after the death of Emperor Basil II (1025) until the establishment of Comnenus Dynasty (1081) has two distinct stages. The first was a stage of latent crisis, during which the Empire still preserved something of the past glory, and the second that followed the Mantzikert catastrophe (1071)⁴³, was a stage of violent crisis that led the Empire on the verge of its collapse⁴⁴.

All the sectors of Byzantine life were affected by the crisis. Economically, the crisis was felt amid the decline of urban life, due to the rapid penetration of Italian merchants on the Empire's markets in the context of the great economic and political expansion of the West, and also due to the complicity or weakness showed by some of the Byzantine emperors, who concluded disadvantageous

³⁸ Aurel Jivi, „Traducători și traduceri în relațiile bisericești dintre Răsărit și Apus (secolele XI-XVI)”, in *Studii de istorie bisericească*, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, 2001, pp. 99-116.

³⁹ Ioan Rămureanu, Milan Șesan, Teodor Bodogae, *op. cit.*, p. 408-410.

⁴⁰ Vasile V. Muntean, *Istoria creștină generală*, vol. I (ab initio-1054), Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Bucharest, 2008, p. 275.

⁴¹ J. Meyendorff, *Ortodoxie și Catolicitate...*, p. 7-48.

⁴² Stelian Brezeanu, *O istorie a Imperiului bizantin*, Editura Albatros, București, 1981, p. 112.

⁴³ Timothy E. Gregory, *O istorie a Bizanțului*, traducere de Cornelia Dumitru, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2013, pp. 260-262.

⁴⁴ Georges Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'État byzantin*, tr. fr. J. Gouillard, pref. Paul Lemerle, Paris, 1956, pp. 341-373.

agreements at the expense of Byzantium. In social life, the feudalization of the Empire accelerated as a result of the predation and enslavement of the small peasant property by the great aristocratic landowners⁴⁵. The new elements, both of the economic and of the social life, brought consequences on the political life: a sharpening of the struggle for power between civil aristocracy who controlled key positions in the central state apparatus and military-land aristocracy who held the power in the provinces.

This led to an economic collapse of the Empire and to the dissolution of the centralized structures of the Byzantine State. The imperial power underwent major restrictions in exercising its authority which did not come from the Senate, from the people and from the army, as it used to happen once, but from the aristocracy who dispensed themselves from the institutional function and rested only on its social-economic and political force. Emperors were generally simple tools of the two sides unable to dominate the situation⁴⁶. Due to the weakening of the army because of the measures taken by the emperors who represented the civil side half a century after the death of Basil II the Macedonian, the Byzantine state was reduced to Constantinople and its environs⁴⁷.

The Byzantine Empire went through these events in an international context entirely new and unfavourable to the Byzantines, namely the one of the appearance at the borders of the Empire of new conquering peoples. Among them, the *Seljuk Turks*, who had increasingly begun to depart from Central Asia in the eleventh century and to approach the borders of Byzantium, and who would play a prominent role. The Byzantines had the opportunity over time to make contact with the Turks who acted as mercenaries in Byzantium and even in the imperial guard, but along with the advent of the *Seljuk Turks*⁴⁸ at the Eastern border of the Byzantine Empire in the first half of the eleventh century, the situation had changed since they were threatening the frontiers of the Empire⁴⁹.

As noted, the events of the summer of 1054, conventionally marking the Schism between East and West, were not considered by contemporaries as catastrophic, as some historians perceive it today⁵⁰. There were incidents and tensions between Constantinople and Rome in past times and such disputes were

⁴⁵ Aurel Jivi, *Curs de istorie bisericească universală*, manuscript.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ Maria Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p.183.

⁴⁸ Seljuk Turks were the descendants of Turkish Prince Selgiuk. He was for a while in the service of a khan in Turkestan towards late tenth century and early eleventh century, from where he emigrated with his tribe in the province of Transoxiana, where he and his people embraced Islam.

⁴⁹ A.A. Vasiliev, *Istoria Imperiului bizantin*, traducere de Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Vasile-Adrian Carabă, Sebastian-Laurențiu Nazăru, studiu introductiv de Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2010, p. 356.

⁵⁰ Eugen Drăgoi, *Istoria bisericească universală*, Editura Historica, București, 2001, p. 217; Louis Brehier, *Les Chisme Orientale du XI siecle*, Paris, 1899, p. XX-XXII.

also somewhat common. While for the mass, the Schism of 1054 passed almost unnoticed, the breaking of ties between Constantinople and Rome in terms of the church had immediate consequences. For the Western people, the events of 1054 meant the defeat of papal ambitions to dominate the East⁵¹. Shortly after the Schism of 1054, the political situation in the East became critical for the Byzantines who needed military support that could only come from the Latin West. As shown, the emergence of the Turks at the borders of the Byzantine Empire would become for the Christian world a huge political and religious threat which found Eastern and Western Christians divided because of the claims of the papacy to impose its hegemony in the Christian East. The Turks conquered Baghdad in 1055⁵², they attacked Edessa and Caesarea of Cappadocia in 1067⁵³, Iconium in 1069⁵⁴. The Battle of Mantzikert in Armenia in 1071 was a catastrophic defeat for Byzantium⁵⁵. The Byzantine Empire was facing a serious threat coming from both the Seljuk Turks, who conquered large territories from the Empire in Asia Minor and the Normans, who threatened the imperial capital. After the Byzantines lost Southern Italy in 1071 when the city of Bari⁵⁶ was occupied, they had to face the Norman danger which was increasingly approaching the borders of the Empire, as the Normans disembarked in 1081 in Epirus. In their turn, the Pechenegs threatened the Byzantine Empire to the North, where along with the Uds from the Danube recorded victories against Byzantine troops, threatening even the capital of the Empire⁵⁷. Due to these external problems and internal crisis inherited after the death of Emperor Basil II the Macedonian (1025), it seemed that the Byzantine Empire was heading towards ruin⁵⁸. Despite the growing aversion between the Byzantines and the Western people, Byzantium made an appeal to the Latin aid which the Pope granted only after church union recognition, namely after the acceptance of papal primacy by the Church of Constantinople. Although in 1054 the formal church relations between Byzantines and the Latin people had been broken, however, possibilities of contact between the two parts, the Eastern and Western Christians living

⁵¹ Teodor M. Popescu, „Cucerirea Constantinopolului de către latini ca mijloc de unire a bisericilor (sec. XI-XIV)” in *Studii Teologice*, București, anul I, nr.1, 1930, p. 50.

⁵² Emanoil Băbuș, *Bizanțul între Occidentul creștin și Orientul islamic (secolele VII-XV)*, Editura Sophia, București, 2005, p. 250.

⁵³ Timothy E. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁵⁴ Emanoil Băbuș, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁵⁵ In the battle of Manzikert, Emperor Roman IV Diogenes (1068-1071) faced Sultan Alp Arslan and suffered a crushing defeat falling prisoner and being forced to pay an amount of one million ducats as ransom and an annual tribute of 360 000 ducats, to release all Turkish captives etc. On his return to Constantinople, Roman found his throne occupied by Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078). Roman was blinded by his opponents and he died shortly afterwards

⁵⁶ A.A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 359.

⁵⁸ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cinci sute de ani.....*, pp. 396-397.

together both in Constantinople, where a great number of Westerners who had churches, monasteries and priests came, and in many other places in the Empire, still existed. Historian B. Leib shows that in the eleventh century marriages between Byzantines and Latin people were concluded⁵⁹. The Romans themselves had monasteries, churches and priests in Sicily and Southern Italy, and therefore the links and contacts between the two Christian worlds were permanent.

Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078), who inherited a disastrous situation of the Empire, and who was pushed by the Seljuk Turks, called for the help of Pope Gregory VII in 1073 for military support from the West in exchange for the obedience of the patriarchal throne in Constantinople to the Church of Rome⁶⁰. This call made by Michael VII to the papacy inaugurated the Byzantine faith traffic politics in exchange for military aid from the West, which was often derisory⁶¹. Since then, throughout the existence of the Byzantine Empire until the fall of Constantinople under the Turks in 1453, the church unification with the Latin people was the price at which the Byzantine emperors would seek to get the Western aid against the Turks, while the papacy used the plight of the Byzantines to impose its supremacy and interests in the East. Pope Gregory VII showed interest in the request of Emperor of Constantinople and called on the Western principles to support Eastern Christians⁶². Papal Chancery sent letters to Count Guillaume de Bourgogne, Countess Matilda and King Henry IV of Germany⁶³. The Pope addressed even an Encyclical entitled *Ad universos fideles* on March 1, 1074 in which he showed the danger that hovered over the Eastern Christians⁶⁴. The Pope was motivated by the organization of an expedition to aid Byzantium as the Church of Constantinople was about to obey Rome: “*Illud etiam me ad hoc opus permaxime insigat quod Constantinopolitana Ecclesia de sancto Spiritu a nobis dissidens, concordiam apostolicae sedis exspectat*”⁶⁵. It is known that Pope Gregory VII tended towards a universal theocracy, imagining that all churches were under Rome⁶⁶. He regarded the Byzantines as fallen from the true faith and diverted by the devil from the Roman faith: “*Ad vos jam pervenisse credimus quae sit nostra voluntas, et quid ex parte Sancti Petri dixerimus de adiutorio faciendo fratribus nostris, qui ultra mare in Constantinopolitana imperio habitant, quos diabolus per se ipsum a fide catholicae conatur avertere, et per membra sua non cessat quotidie pecudes*

⁵⁹ B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance a la fin du XI-e siecle*, Paris, 1924, p. 23.

⁶⁰ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁶¹ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cinci sute de ani...*, p. 397.

⁶² Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 398.

⁶³ Teodor M Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 53.

⁶⁴ S. Gregorii VII, *Romani Pontificis, Epistolae et diplomata pontificia, Epistola XXXVII, Ad Universos Fideles*, Migne P. L., CXXXVIII, col. 390.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, col. 386.

⁶⁶ Teodor M Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 53.

enecrare crudeliter”⁶⁷. Obviously, Pope Gregory was more interested in the Byzantines’ ecclesiastical obedience than in their defence against the Turkish danger. He looked at things from the perspective of the Roman Church ecclesiology, namely of the undisputed papal primacy that all the other Christians had to recognize without hesitation. Political circumstances in the West did not allow Gregory VII to undertake the expedition to the East he had planned. The conflicts with the Normans, their hatred against the Byzantines and the quarrel caused by the investiture, impeached him to intervene in favour of Byzantium⁶⁸. Descendants of Michael VII Ducas to the throne of Byzantium, Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078-1081) and Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) showed hostility towards the idea of a union between churches. This was caused by the fact that Pope Gregory VII had made an alliance with the Normans who were the mortal enemies of the Byzantines⁶⁹.

In fact, Pope Gregory would adopt from that moment on an aggressive policy in relation to Byzantium. While at first he waited for the defeat of the Normans in order to come to the rescue of the Byzantines, finally the Pope would approve their plan of conquest of Byzantium by armed confrontation. We note that Pope Gregory VII adopted in his relation with the Byzantines a duplicitous attitude, on one hand he supported a friendly union by speculating the difficulties that the Byzantines experienced, and on the other hand he favoured certain plans for the conquest of the Byzantine Empire⁷⁰. Settled in Southern Italy over the Arabs and Greeks in the eleventh century, Normans tended to expand their dominion in the Balkan Peninsula, in order to conquest Constantinople and acquire the imperial crown. Animated by these feelings, the Normans put the situation of the Byzantine Empire to test in 1081 and between 1107 and 1108. After he conquered the Byzantine territories in Southern Italy, Robert Guiscard turned his full attention towards the Balkan Peninsula⁷¹. Together with his brother Bohemond he sailed against Alexios I Komnenos with an impressive fleet with the thought of laying hands on the city of Dyrrachium. Some historians believe that this action was the prelude of the Crusades⁷². The Crusades that led to the creation of the Latin states in the East, including the Principality of Antioch ruled by the Normans, had caused serious frictions and misunderstandings between Byzantines and Latins. The latter began to threaten the Byzantine Empire more than the Turks⁷³.

⁶⁷ S. Gregorii VII, *Romani Pontificis*, *op. cit.*, col. 390.

⁶⁸ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 55.

⁶⁹ Pope Gregory VII was forced to make peace with the Normans because of its conflict with Henry IV against whom he needed military support

⁷⁰ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 399.

⁷¹ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism. A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches During the 11th and 12th Centuries*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955, p. 56.

⁷² A.A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

⁷³ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cinci sute de ani...*, p. 398.

After the Normans earned the Pope on their side in their anti-Byzantine politics, Robert Guiscard asked Pope Gregory VII to turn his military expedition against the Byzantines into a crusade, meaning that the participants should be granted the forgiveness of their sins. When the Normans attacked the Byzantine Empire in 1081 and announced their triumph over the schismatic people in Byzantium to the Pope, he congratulated Robert Guiscard, seeing his acts of war as an evidence of St. Peter's benevolence⁷⁴. Church historian Teodor M. Popescu draws attention to the duplicitous policy of the papacy through which on the one hand the Pope speculated the difficult political situation of the Byzantines and accepted a union of convenience with them, and on the other hand, approved and promoted Western plans for the conquest of the Empire Byzantine by armed force and for the forced religious union with Rome⁷⁵. Crusades era would be the one that would provide the continuation of the policy of Gregory VII. Through his actions aimed at organizing a holy war in support of Christians in the East against the Turks, Pope Gregory VII became a promoter of the crusades before his legitimate successor Pope Urban II would formally declare this.

At the beginning of the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, Byzantine relations with the papacy were not one of the most favourable because of the anti-byzantine policy of Pope Gregory VII, who had allied with the Normans, Byzantines' mortal enemies⁷⁶. In this situation, the Byzantine emperor would support the German one in his struggle against the papacy and the Normans. Due to the aggressive attitude of Pope Gregory VII against Byzantium, the Latin pilgrims of the East often had to suffer, and the Latin churches which published the sentence of excommunication against Alexius I Comnenus had been closed, and the celebration of the Latin worship prohibited⁷⁷. To remedy this situation, Pope Victor III (1086-1087) addressed Ana Dalasena, emperor Alexios I Komnenos' mother, asking her to make things easier for the Latin pilgrims, and Pope Urban II (1088-1089) demanded the withdrawal of measures taken against Latin churches in Constantinople. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos invited Pope Urban II at a synod which was to take place in Constantinople to discuss controversial issues freely, and find the way for an ecclesiastical communion between East and West. Despite the fact that the Pope initially accepted the invitation, the synod was never held⁷⁸. Instead, they reached an agreement based on which the Pope was to lift the excommunication of the Emperor of Constantinople, who in turn was to give freedom to the Latin worship in Constantinople and allow the Pope's name to be written in the diptychs of Saint Sophia Church⁷⁹.

⁷⁴ Idem, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 56.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁶ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 399.

⁷⁷ B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, Paris 1924, p. 20.

⁷⁸ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 400.

⁷⁹ Martin Jugie, *Le schisme byzantin, aperçu historique et doctrinal*, Paris, 1941, p. 242.

At the beginning of the *First Crusade* the relations between Byzantines and Latins relied on the fact that both peoples were Christian, but soon, the frictions generated by the Crusades would determine the Western to consider the Eastern Christians worse than Pagans, and the Byzantines to consider the Latins barbarians and robbers⁸⁰. This mentality was based on the indiscipline of many groups of Crusaders who indulged in looting and cruelty in relation to the Empire's population during their passage to the Holy Land. Besides, the presence of Crusaders in Byzantium worried the emperor in Constantinople. Historian A.A. Vasiliev writes: "*The news about this decision had come as an unexpected and shocking surprise to Alexios, because he did not expect nor did he want aid in the form of a crusade. When Alexios asked for mercenaries from the West, he asked them for the protection of Constantinople, namely of his own state; and the idea of the Holy Land liberation which was no longer part of the Empire's plans for more than four centuries, was of a secondary importance to him. The problem of a crusade did not exist for the Byzantium in the eleventh century. There was no religious enthusiasm coming from the masses and the king, and no preachers of the crusade. For Byzantium the political issue of saving the Empire from its enemies in the East and North had nothing to do with the distant expedition to the Holy Land*"⁸¹. For the Byzantine emperor, the Crusaders were barbarians threatening the Empire. Their deeds would justify the fear of the Byzantine emperor.

The crusaders headed to Constantinople by land and by sea. They plundered the places where they went and they indulged in violence. Theophylact, the Archbishop of Bulgaria, wrote: "*My lips are sealed; above all, the transition of the Franks or their invasion or I do not know how to call it affected us and surprised us all so much that we lost self-consciousness. I've had enough of the bitter cup of the invasion*"⁸². Obviously, Alexius Comnenus had reasons not to trust the Crusaders. He was anxiously waiting for the crusading armies that headed for Constantinople. Some historians accused the Byzantines of treachery and disloyalty to the Crusaders. British E. Gibbon compares Emperor Alexios with a jackal following the lion and devouring the remains⁸³. In relation to Edward Gibbon's remark, Byzantinist A.A. Vasiliev shows that Alexios Komnenos was a true statesman who understood the danger that the Crusaders represented for the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, the emperor hastened them to pass into Asia Minor where they were to fulfil their mission to fight the unfaithful⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 400.

⁸¹ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 396-397.

⁸² Theophylacti, *Bulgariae Archiepiscopi, Epistolae XX*, Migne P.G., CXXVI, col. 324-325.

⁸³ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols., London, 1897-1902.

⁸⁴ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

Among the groups of Crusaders arrived in Constantinople in 1096-1097 were the Normans, Byzantines' enemies, led by Bohemond, Robert Guiscard's son and Tancred's nephew. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos rightly considered their presence dangerous for the Empire and through negotiations they managed to get from Bohemond a loyalty oath from all Crusaders for Byzantium⁸⁵. Instead, Tancred threatened the Byzantine Empire asking the Normans to attack Constantinople. The Crusaders went to Orient, and after their conquests they did not respect the oath and didn't render the liberated territories to the Byzantine Empire, which led to many misunderstandings⁸⁶. The fact that the Westerners regarded the Byzantine schismatics as enemies is proved by the letter addressed by Bohemond to Pope Urban II on September 11, 1098 after the conquest of Antioch. The letter addressed to the Pope is very significant in terms of the Normandy's intentions in respect to the relations between Crusaders and Byzantines in general: "*Nos enim Turcos et paganos expugnauimus. Haereticos autem Graecos et Armenos, atque Syrios, Jacobitasque expugnare nequiuimus. Mandamus igitur et remandamus tibi charissimo Patri nostro ut tu, Pater, ad tuae paternitatis locum venias, et qui sancti Petri es vicarius, in cathedra sancti Petri sedeas et nos filios tuos in omnibus recte agendis obediens habeas; et omnes haereses, cujuscunque gentis sint, tua auctoritate et nostra virtute eradices et destruas (...). Tu vero nos filios per omnia tibi obediens, Pater piissime, debes separare ab injusto imperatore, qui multa bona promisit nobis, sed minime fecit. Omnia enim mala et impedimenta quaecunque facere potuit, nobis fecit*"⁸⁷. We can see from Bohemond's correspondence with Pope Urban II that the conquest of Antioch was presented as its rendering by Jesus Christ to the Roman faith, the Pope, the initiator of the crusade, being invited to go and sit on the first chair of St. Peter's. Bohemond shows that if the unfaithful were defeated, the heretics must also be defeated and the entire East must be governed by the Latins.

Bohemond wanted the Pope to confirm or approve his domination of Antioch over the Byzantines. The political obedience of the Byzantines became for Bohemond the primary and decisive reason for which the Pope was asked to approve and support the war against the heretic Byzantines⁸⁸. We note that Bohemond sought the attack of the Byzantine Empire with more passion than his father, and saw the Byzantines as an obstacle in the way of the Crusades. According to Bohemond, the Byzantines had to be made to obey Rome by coercion and war. He would accuse them in front of the Western people of being

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 401.

⁸⁶ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 403.

⁸⁷ B. Urbani II, Pontificis Romani, *Epistola Boamundi principis Antiochiae, Raymundi comitis Sancti Aegidii, Godefridi ducis Lotharingiae, Roberti comitis Northmanniae, Roberti comitis Flandrensis, et Eustachii comitis Boloniae, ad Urbanum II papam*, Migne P. L. CLI, col. 551-555.

⁸⁸ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 59.

the main culprits of the failures of the Western knights in the Christian East, describing them as malicious and dangerous to the Christian cause of the Crusaders. After the First Crusade, Bohemond explained the war against Byzantines from a religious point of view⁸⁹, seeking to obtain the support of the papacy for his ideals of conquest of Byzantium by armed force. The fact that Alexios I Komnenos took steps to limit the Crusaders' robberies in the Byzantine territories determined the Crusaders to regard the Byzantines as enemies. From Byzantines schismatics, they became traitors of the liberation work of the Holy Places⁹⁰. These strongly propagated plots were embraced by the entire West, so that the Byzantines were viewed with resentment by the Latin Christians in the West. Meanwhile, Pope Urban II died before receiving the news of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Christians in 1099. In 1100, Bohemond appointed a Latin patriarch in Antioch instead of the Byzantine patriarch John IV, who was forced to go to Constantinople because of his disagreements with the Latins. A forced Latinization began in the territories conquered by Bohemond despite the opposition of the Byzantine clergy. In 1100, Bohemond was taken prisoner in the battles with the Turks. During his three-year captivity, his hatred towards the Byzantines increased, and in 1103 when he was ransomed with a large sum of money⁹¹, his first thought was to retaliate against the Byzantine Empire. Bohemond was aware that he lacked the necessary strength to carry on his own the battle with Byzantium on water and on land, and so he thought of a Latin coalition against Byzantium formed of Pisans, Florentine and Genoese, who could provide him a fleet. Bohemond would head towards the West to raise the Latins against Byzantium⁹². He was supported in this endeavour by Daimbert of Pisa, patriarch of Jerusalem, and received the blessing of the Pope. Another supporter of Bohemond was papal legate Bruno of Segni, who shared the use of war to protect the rights of the Church even against Christians. He accompanied him during the recruitment campaign in Italy and France⁹³. The intrigues and the broadside of the Byzantines paid off, and at a synod held at Benevent in 1102 under Pope Paschal II (1099-1118), Alexius I Comnenus was accused and criticized.

When Bohemond personally preached in the West the crusade against the Byzantine Empire in Italy, France and Spain, he was received like a hero⁹⁴. The crushing of the Byzantine Empire was shown as a means to ensure the work of the Crusaders in the Christian East, and in order to ensure their success, the

⁸⁹ Idem, *Cinci sute de ani...*, p. 398.

⁹⁰ Louis Brehier, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

⁹¹ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

⁹² Ana Comnena, *Alexiada*, traducere de Marina Marinescu, Postfață de Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, Editura Minerva, București, 1977, vol. II, pp. 140-141.

⁹³ Angeliki E. Laiou, „Bizațul și Cruciadele în secolul al XII-lea: de ce a întârziat Cruciada a IV-a?”, in *Studii Teologice*, București, seria a III-a, anul V, nr. 2, April-June, 2009, pp. 259-260.

⁹⁴ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 62.

Westerners had to start the Crusade with the removal of the Schism, with the Byzantines' submission, with the Latin domination in Constantinople, which could provide the operation basis for subsequent expeditions against Islam. Bohemond was still regarded in the West as a heroic figure, and therefore King of France Philip I (1060-1108) gave him his daughter's hand. Bohemond, who gained a great fame and an immense prestige in the West⁹⁵, continued to roam all over the West instigating people to organize an expedition against the Byzantines, and managed to impress Westerners especially because he wore the aura of successes from Antioch and Jerusalem. With this aura of hero, Bohemond found it easy to assemble a Latin army and led it against the Byzantine Empire⁹⁶. He justified the crusade project by means of the religious motivation of the Byzantines' submission through the political means of the conquest of Constantinople and the restoration of the religious order⁹⁷. Pope Paschal II approved the expedition, offering Bohemond *vexillum Sancti Petri*, the flag of St. Peter, which equated with carrying a war with the approval of the Pope⁹⁸. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos understood the danger for Byzantium arising from the slander campaign against him carried by Bohemond in the West⁹⁹ and asked a Latin bishop who went from the East towards the West to tell the truth to the Pope. At the same time, he carried negotiations with Venice, Genoa and Pisa, which had been active in both the Holy Land and along the coast of Antioch, and which even attacked the Byzantine possessions¹⁰⁰. After recruiting his army, Bohemond attacked the Byzantine territory from Dyrrachion during 1107-1108¹⁰¹. Alexios I Komnenos took measures of defence and beat Bohemond, causing him a heavy defeat. Alexios obtained his victory due to the war of propaganda or the art of diplomacy, which was carried by the Byzantine emperor by means of the Westerners¹⁰². Alexios' art of diplomacy was successful, a fact proven by the letter addressed by Bohemond to Pope Paschal II in 1106 or 1108, in which he stated that some people were seduced by Alexios with gifts and took his part, and reported Bohemond to have unjustly attacked Alexios¹⁰³. Thus, Byzantium conquest plans were thwarted by the Latins for a while¹⁰⁴. Bohemond signed a humiliating peace with Alexios in the presence of the papal legate. The

⁹⁵ Angeliki E. Laiou, *art. cit.*, p. 259.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 263.

⁹⁷ Timothy E. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁹⁸ Angeliki E. Laiou, *art. cit.*, p. 260; C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, Princeton, N.J., 1977, p. 182-200.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 261.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 264.

¹⁰¹ Maria Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁰² Angeliki E. Laiou, *art. cit.*, p. 265.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 267.

¹⁰⁴ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cinci sute de ani....*, p. 398.

Norman and papal anti-Byzantine policy was thus compromised. Bohemond died in early 1111¹⁰⁵. We can say that while in Pope Urban II's opinion the crusade was to bring peace and reconciliation between the two Christian worlds, quite the opposite happened, namely the distrust increased, the suspicions deepened, the differences between the two Christian worlds widened and the tension and hatred between the East and West of Europe deepened¹⁰⁶.

The relations between Byzantium and Rome would experience an improvement after the appointment of Paschal II (1099-1118) as Pope and after the death of Bohemond in 1111, who fought fiercely against the Byzantines. Shortly after King Henry V forced Pope Paschal II to crown him as emperor, Alexios I Komnenos sent a Byzantine imperial embassy to pay homage to the Pope and console him for the humiliation suffered because of Henry V, who had arrested and humiliated him in order to obtain the imperial crown from his hands. Alexios wanted to receive for himself and for his son John the crown of the Western Empire that Henry V had. This proposal represented Italy's reentering the Empire of Constantinople and the taking over of the Papacy under Byzantine protection and the unification between the medieval Empire and the Churches. At the Byzantine imperial embassy a brilliant Roman embassy who went to Constantinople in May 1112 in order to talk to the king and to lead to Rome answered. Pope Paschal II wrote to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos about the conditions which had to be met in order to make his dream come true by subjecting the Church of Constantinople to the Roman authority. Although the situation was difficult for the Pope in Rome, he did not give up the dream of seeing the Eastern Church subordinated to the papacy. In a letter sent to the Emperor, Pope Paschal II wrote: "*Prima igitur unitatis hujus via haec videtur, ut confrater noster constantinopolitanus patriarcha primatum est, obstinatum praeteritam corrigat sicut ex legatorum nostrorum suggestionem cognoscens, metropoles vero ille sive provinciae, quae Sedis apostolicae quondam dispositionibus subiacebant ad ejusdem Sedis obedientiam dispositionemque concurrant, et status ille, qui inter veteris et novae Romae nostrorum ac vestrorum praedecessorum temporibus habebatur, nunc cooperante Deo per vestrae sublimitas industriam reformetur. Ea enim, quae inter Latinos et Graecos fidei vel consuetudinum (diversitatem) faciunt, non videntur aliter posse sedari nisi prius capiti membra cohereant... Mox per Dei gratiam apostolicarum sedium praesules, et nostro et vestro cooperante studio loco et tempora, quod statuerimus, convenire debebunt, ut communicatis consiliis secundum sanctarum rectitudinem Scripturarum de medio quaestionum scandala recensentur*"¹⁰⁷. We

¹⁰⁵ Stelian Brezeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹⁰⁶ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 401.

¹⁰⁷ Paschalis II, Pontifex Romanus, *Epistola CDXXXVII, Ad Alexium imperatorem Constantinopolitanum*, Migne, P.L. CLXIII, col. 388-389.

note that prior to any theological discussion on the differences between the East and the West, the Pope demanded unconditional obedience, while the question of the dogmatic and ritual or religious differences came second. The Pope's letter was not likely to bring about a detente in the relations between Constantinople and Rome churches. The debate between Latins and Byzantines amplified following the talks carried with Peter the Rude in Constantinople. A series of anti-Latin works written by John Furnis, Euthymius Zigabenus, Eustathius of Nicaea, Zonaras, etc. appeared¹⁰⁸. The king wanted to obtain the imperial crown and the Pope the church union. However, this proposal of the Byzantine Emperor brought even more tension between East and West, restarting and intensifying the polemics between the Byzantines and Latins at the beginning of the twelfth century. Emperor John II Comnenus (1118-1143) declared himself in favour of the relations between East and West in the time of Popes Callixtus II (1119-1124) and Honorius (1124-1130), several talks taking place in this respect. We learned of a letter sent by the Emperor to Pope Honorius which questioned the relations between the worldly power and the religious one. Representing the Byzantine mentality, according to which the imperial power was greater than the religious one, Emperor John II Comnenus could not reconcile with the papal mentality according to which the Church was above the imperial power. This difference of opinion would be a permanent source of tension between the two Christian worlds¹⁰⁹.

The establishment of the Latin states in the East after the First Crusade was another main reason for the misunderstandings between Byzantium and Rome. Under Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180), son of John II Comnenus, Prince Raimond of Antioch organized the vigorous intervention of the Byzantine Emperor, which led to a new defeat of the Latins. In this situation, the papacy defended the Latins, condemning the Byzantines for the attack of the Western crusading troops. In a letter of 1138, addressed to all the faithful living in the Byzantine Empire, Pope Innocent II (1130-1143), threatening with the refusal of sin absolution, prohibited any help to the king of Constantinople who separated from the unity of the Church and of Blessed Peter: "*Nunc autem, sicut accepimus, rex Constantinopolitanus, qui se ab unitate Ecclesiae dividit et beato Petro, caelorum clavigero, qui princeps et apostolorum et Ecclesiae post Christum caput et fundamentum, inobediens est, Antiochiam caeterasque proximas civitates nititur occupare et suae dominationi subicere. Quia igitur nostrum est cunctos fideles ad sinum matris suae Ecclesiae recolligere et ab illicitis prohibere, universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus atque praecipimus, et ne peccatorum remissionum injugimus quatenus, si praefatus rex jam dictam Antiochiam vel alia loca, quae fideles christiani possident, occupare vel*

¹⁰⁸ Martin Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia catholica dissidentium*, vol. I, Paris, 1926, p. 404-405.

¹⁰⁹ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 402.

*impugnare praesumpserit, vos ab ipsius societate et servitio omnimalis subtrahatis nec in tam praesumptuora invasione opem ei et consilium prebeatis; aliaquin damnationis suae vos noveritis esse participes*¹¹⁰. The poor leadership of the Kingdom of Jerusalem allowed the Muslims to attack and rob Edessa (1146) and threaten Jerusalem and Antioch. In this situation, the Christian West organized a second crusade that would produce the first serious attempt to conquer Constantinople being, thus, a prelude to the Fourth Crusade¹¹¹.

During the **Second Crusade**, Roger II, king of Sicily, proved his aggressive intentions against Byzantines by trying to convince King Louis VII of France (1137-1180) to attack the Byzantine Empire. The participation in the crusade of the German Emperor Conrad III, who was related and allied to Manuel I Comnenus, caused the Norman plan of attack against the Byzantine Empire to fall. The Byzantine Emperor secured free passage for the Western German and French Crusaders on the territory of the Byzantine Empire. Roger II of Sicily proposed to the king of France and to the German emperor to go down to Sicily where they could use the Norman fleet. With this, Roger tried to win the two Western sovereigns against Byzantium but his plan failed¹¹².

The Crusaders' passage on the Byzantine territory caused many conflicts, like the First Crusade¹¹³. The Emperor in Constantinople was forced to send imperial troops against the German Army which went forward robbing the inhabitants of the Empire. Manuel I Comnenus tried to convince the Crusaders to promise that they would return the conquests they made, which had once belonged to the Empire, back to the Empire. However, they refused. The French army marched to Constantinople in a better discipline and King Louis VII was given a lavish reception there. Some of the king's advisers had suggested that it would be better for him to start the crusade by conquering Constantinople. One of the leading agitators for the conquest of Constantinople was the Bishop of Langres. He argued that the Byzantines were schismatics and Christians only in name, and that they were an obstacle and enemies of the Crusades and of the Latin states in the East. Historian Teodor M. Popescu asserts that the idea of the conquest of Constantinople did not come to Bishop of Langres' mind on the road but that he had left with it from home¹¹⁴ and certainly many other Western people believed the same. The Western knights' failure in the East would make them blame the Byzantines and make them responsible for the failure of the Crusade. King Manuel I Comnenus did not actually participate in the crusade because he had to respect the truce which he had concluded with the Turks.

¹¹⁰ Innocentius II, Pontifex Romanus, *Epistola CCCLIX, Ad universos fides in regno Constantinopolitane degentes*, Migne, P.L. CLXXIX, col. 354-355.

¹¹¹ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, pp. 70-71.

¹¹² Timothy E. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

¹¹³ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

¹¹⁴ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 74.

The tensions between the West and East widened after the incident that involved Louis VII of France. The Byzantine ships which were in the Mediterranean in order to protect the Greek islands and coasts from the Normans attacked the ships where Louis VII was and even captured the ship with the queen, who had accompanied her husband on the Crusade. The queen was saved due to the timely intervention of the Normans, of the king of Sicily's fleet. This unfortunate event turned the King of France into a new enemy of the Byzantine Empire. Following this incident, Roman II of Sicily took advantage of the situation and, having Louis VII as a guest in Potenza in the autumn of 1149, he tried to persuade the French king of the need for a Crusade against Constantinople¹¹⁵. The Norman King, the King of France and Pope Eugenius III united their resentments and powers against the schismatics of Byzantium in 1150¹¹⁶. In this situation, the Byzantine emperor Manuel renewed the alliance with Conrad III of Germany on his return home (the winter of 1148-1149) and launched an offensive against the Normans recapturing from them the island of Corfu¹¹⁷. The King of Sicily tried to break the alliance between Manuel and Conrad by means of Pope Eugenius III, who needed Roger II's help against the Roman Republic. This was another reason for the German Emperor to get even closer to the Byzantines.

In France, however, the propaganda for a new crusade against the Byzantines was very active. Among those who nourished the hatred against the Byzantines were a few men of the Church, of the most distinguished. Peter the Venerable presented Conrad III and the Byzantines as the main culprits of the disaster of the earlier crusade¹¹⁸. The Abbot of Cluny asked for a new crusade through which they had to be punished. He wrote to the King of Sicily: "*Est et aliud quod longe magis accendit animos nostros, et animos pene omnium Gallorum nostrum, ad amandam et quae rendam pacem vestram, illa scilicet pessima inaudita et lamentabilis Graecorum, et nequam regis eorum de peregrinis nostris. (...) Exsurge in adiutorium populo Dei (...) Ulciscere tot approbria, tot injurias...*"¹¹⁹. All the Latin zeal developed for the Byzantines' punishment expedition and all prospects of the alliance between the kings of France and Sicily had no effect in front of the will of Conrad III to maintain contact with the Byzantine emperor Manuel¹²⁰. Therefore, the coalition planned by the Normans and French against the Byzantines with the blessing of Pope

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

¹¹⁶ *Idem*, *Cinci sute de ani...*, p. 399.

¹¹⁷ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 412.

¹¹⁹ Petri Venerabilis, Abbatis Cluniae, *Epistolae XVI, Magnifico principi, domino ROTGERO regi Siciliae, frater Petrus humilis Cluniacensium abbas, salutem praesentem et regnum sempiternum*, Migne, P.L. CLXXXIX, col. 424.

¹²⁰ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

Eugenius III as a crusade against Constantinople in 1150, remained unfulfilled. We can conclude that the policy of closeness to the Germans promoted by John II Comnenus (1118-1143) and continued by his son Manuel saved at the mid of twelfth century the Byzantine Empire from a possible Latin conquest. What we need to remember is that half a century before the Fourth Crusade, a conquest of Constantinople was seriously thought out and prepared in the West, as a means of ensuring the expeditions in the East, and also as a means of uniting the Byzantines with the Roman Church by military submission. We should also note that at the half of the twelfth century the conquest of Constantinople was no longer an isolated idea, or the firm wish of a Pope, or the purpose of an imperialist policy as that of the Normans, but a reality freely assumed by the Western medieval society. At the same time, we should mention that the American researcher Angeliki E. Laiou analyzed in a recent study the French and German sources from the time of the Second Crusade about a possible attack of the German and French crusaders against Byzantium as compared to the Byzantine sources from that era and reached the conclusion that the Byzantines fears were not supported by Western sources. She considers that Manuel feared such plans as Byzantines kept alive the memory of the First Crusade¹²¹. The memory of the First Crusade showed Manuel that crusading armies could be dangerous, and therefore he was cautious in this regard.

At the death of Conrad III in 1152, the Byzantine Empire lost a faithful ally. Under his successor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-1190), German politics took another direction¹²². The Pope concluded a treaty with him in 1153 through which the Byzantines and the Normans were regarded as enemies of both parties. In the treaty between the papacy and the German king concluded in 1153, the Byzantine Emperor was called “the King of the Greeks”¹²³ which, according to the medieval mentality, meant that the Oriental Empire was not entitled to the Roman Empire heritage, which was exclusively attributed to the German Empire. Basically, it was a theoretical dissolution of the Byzantine Empire. After the death of Pope Eugenius III, the politics of the German emperor in relation to the Byzantines changed, as they tried to conclude an alliance between the two parties. Because both Frederick I Barbarossa and Manuel I Comnenus wanted to rule Italy, the alliance could not be made. There had been attempts to reach an agreement between the Normans and Byzantines, but they failed. Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159) cancelled the agreement made by his predecessor Frederick I Barbarossa and concluded a peace treaty with the Normans in Benevent in 1156. This resulted in new conflicts, especially because Manuel dreamed that his grandfather Alexios I Komnenos would take the crown of the West once again.

¹²¹ Angeliki E. Laiou, *art. cit.*, p. 279.

¹²² Stelian Brezeanu, *Istoria Imperiului bizantin*, Editura Meronia, București, 2007, pp. 273-274.

¹²³ A.A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

The Byzantine Emperor had faith in his military force, but the Byzantine army suffered a heavy defeat at Brindisi in 1156¹²⁴.

Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159) stated his religious supremacy over the East, thus revealing the goals of the papal policy. Moreover, Pope Adrian IV presented his vision about the church union in a letter addressed to Archbishop Basil of Thessaloniki¹²⁵ through which he blamed the old enemy, the devil, for the schism. The Pope stated that the unification of the divided could only be made after the acknowledgment of the Roman authority, whose primacy was commanded by the Holy Fathers. The Pope's letter ended with an invitation to fight for the unity of the Church and the submission of the Byzantine to Papacy¹²⁶. Pope Adrian IV tried to get closer to the Byzantines because of the quarrels he had with the Normans and with Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. Despite the fact that he needed the support of Byzantium the Pope addressed the Byzantines by the name of Supreme Pontiff and he wanted the East to call him in the same way¹²⁷. King Manuel would conduct negotiations with Pope Alexander III in order to organize a coalition against Frederick I Barbarossa. In 1166, Manuel I Comnenus addressed the Pope, offering him the church unification and large sums of money in exchange for the Western imperial crown. The Pope and his advisers considered advantageous Manuel I's proposal and sent messengers to Constantinople for negotiations. From an ecclesiastical perspective, the Pope demanded the recognition of the papal primacy, of the right of appeal to the Holy Seat and the remembrance of the Pope in the diptychs of Constantinople. All the efforts to persuade the Patriarch to accept the Pope's requirements were in vain. Michael III Anghelos said the Pope had lost the bishop's brightness and that he was neither the first bishop of bishops, nor a judge, nor a shepherd, but a sheep that needed a doctor. The king was forced to abandon his dreams and said that he would stay away from the Latins as from the snake's venom. A synod held in Constantinople in 1167 discussed and rejected all papal claims¹²⁸. We can note that the pressure and state of tension between the two Churches can be seen both in the Synod's judgment and in the Patriarch's language used to make reference to the Pope. Out of the desire to acquire the Western crown, the Comnenus led a Latinophile policy to the detriment of most Byzantines' interests. The consequence of this attitude would be seen in the stormy events that took place after the death of Manuel I Comnenus. Meanwhile, the German

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁵ The letter was translated in Romanian and commented by historian Teodor M. Popescu in the study entitled „La o sută de ani după Schismă”, published in *Studii Teologice*, București, anul VIII, 1940, pp. 77-104.

¹²⁶ Adriani IV Papae, *Epistola CXCVIII, Archiepiscopo Thessalonicenss scribit de Ecclesia Graecorum cum Romana reconcilianda. Commendat Balduinum et Balditizionium tabellarios ed Emmanuelem imperatorem missos*, Migne, P.L., CLXXXVIII, col. 1580-1581.

¹²⁷ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 404.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*.

Emperor tried to form alliances with Manuel through numerous embassies sent to Constantinople between 1166 and 1174. Manuel's policy led to the disaster of Myriokefalon (1176) for the Byzantine Empire¹²⁹.

Even though through his Western policy Manuel I Comnenus managed to clear the danger coming from the West for Constantinople, he despised the Turkish threat coming from the East. His excessive sympathy for the Latins made him spend enormous amounts for diplomatic purposes, impoverishing the Empire's treasure and weakening the army. He granted all possible favours to the Latins, attracting consequently the dislike of the Byzantine people¹³⁰. Andronicus I Comnenus would raise the population to revolt under the pretext of Orthodoxy defence, taking the power from Alexios II, son of Manuel, and killing him together with his mother, Maria of Antioch¹³¹. The tension between the Byzantines and the Westerners caused the Latins to be driven out of Constantinople and their neighbourhood to be burned. Their wealth was taken away, and their churches burnt and desecrated. The Byzantines' antipathy towards Western people eventually led to their massacre in Constantinople in 1182¹³², two years after the death of Manuel, who left the throne to a child led by regent Empress Maria of Antioch, who was also detested in Byzantium for her Latin origin. Manuel had married her after the death of Irene. Manuel's interference in the Western policy and his great ambitions had unsettled the Latins¹³³.

Manuel's tendency to impose at any price the Byzantine suzerainty to the Latin states of the East irritated them. It is enough to recall the conflicts with the Venetians¹³⁴. The Normans would be those who tried, at Frederick Barbarossa's instigation, to reply to the massacre of 1182 three years later, when Thessaloniki faced one of the bloodiest and most brutal invasion of the Normans in 1185¹³⁵. Historian Nicetas Choniates wrote right after these events that: "*there is a great chasm of enmity between them and us; we cannot reconcile in our souls and we are completely at conflict although we continue to have external connections*"¹³⁶. Church historian Teodor M. Popescu says the following about the hatred between Latin and Eastern people: "*For the two confessions the name of Christian and the altars meant nothing; they were targets of hatred and fanaticism*"¹³⁷.

¹²⁹ Timothy E. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

¹³⁰ Charles Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹³¹ Warren Treadgold, *O scurtă istorie a Bizanțului*, traducere de Mirella Acsente, Editura Artemis, 2003, p. 206.

¹³² Timothy E. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

¹³³ Charles Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 165;

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

¹³⁵ Eustathii, Thessalonicensis Metropolitae, *Naratio de Thessalonica urbe a Latinis Capta*, Migne, P.G., CXXXVI, col. 9-140.

¹³⁶ Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 405.

¹³⁷ Teodor M. Popescu, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului...*, p. 85.

After the death of Manuel I Comnenus (1180), a state of anarchy governed Byzantium¹³⁸. The last two decades of the twelfth century of Byzantium experienced usurpation, crimes that accelerated the process of dissolution and weakening of the Empire, which was again exposed to the danger of Latin conquest. As the Christians lost Jerusalem in 1187, the crusade was again preached in the West. At the same time, Frederick I Barbarossa denied the quality of king of Isaac II Anghelos (1189), who was at that time the ruler of the Byzantine Empire. When the German Emperor passed through Serbia and Bulgaria, they suggested the Emperor to attack Constantinople, offering to support him. Frederick I Barbarossa did not embrace the proposal of the people of the Balkans right away, but he wrote to his son Henry VI to organize a fleet in the Italian cities and ask Pope Clement III (1187-1191) to preach and direct the crusade against the Byzantines¹³⁹. We can see that after Tancred's and Bohemond's threats during the First Crusade, of Roger II of Sicily and of Louis VII of France during the Second Crusade, Byzantium was exposed during the time of the third Crusade to the attack and conquest of the Western knights. Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Anghelos understood the danger that came from the Westerners, and promised Frederick I Barbarossa to help him cross the German army through the imperial territories. After Frederick I Barbarossa drowned in a river in Cilicia, in June 1190, an even more dangerous opponent for Byzantium made his appearance in the person of his son, Henry VI. He was cruel and revengeful, ambitious and vain, and he even attempted to evade the papal anointing. Above all, his dream was to conquer Constantinople and abolish the Byzantine Empire, taking possession of the Orient in order to establish a universal Christian Empire greater than that of Carol the Great. After becoming by marriage the heir and king of the two Sicilies, he believed he had the mission to implement the old Norman plan of occupation of the Byzantine Empire. Governed by these ambitions, Henry VI summoned Isaac II Anghelos to give him the territories conquered by the Normans, asking him for compensation for the losses suffered by his father while crossing the Byzantine Empire, and a fleet to cooperate with his armies to conquer Palestine. In this situation, and facing a common enemy, the Byzantine Emperor and Pope Celestine III (1191-1198) approached and supported each other.

The situation would change in Byzantium when the dethronement and blinding of Isaac II Anghelos by Alexios III (1195-1203) took place, which worsened even more the threat coming from the German Empire¹⁴⁰. German Emperor Henry VI was preparing for the war and maintained diplomatic actions in order to take over Constantinople. In order to gain rights over the capital of

¹³⁸ Charles Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

¹³⁹ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

¹⁴⁰ Warren Treadgold, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

Byzantium he married his brother Philip of Swabia with Irina, Isaac II Anghelos' daughter. Henry VI died unexpectedly in September 1198, at the age of 38, his death disintegrating the Third Crusade and Constantinople escaped once again from the danger of the conquest coming from the German area. Earlier that year, the papal throne was occupied by the young and ambitious Giovanni Lotario, known as Pope Innocent III, who would soon call on the Christian principles to take the Cross in order to release Jerusalem, which would lead to the organization of the Fourth Crusade that would not lead to the liberation of Jerusalem, but to the conquest and destruction of Constantinople¹⁴¹.

As seen, the division between the two Christian worlds worsened in the eleventh and twelfth centuries during the Crusades, both in terms of policy and religion. However, the relations between Byzantium and Westerners would continue under the emperors of Angels' dynasty¹⁴². We can see from the above that in the period we are making reference to, the idea of crusade has changed, in that Jerusalem ceased to be the single target of Christian expeditions to the Orient. The conquest of Constantinople had increasingly become a prerequisite for the success of the crusade in the East¹⁴³. We also note that the religious ideal of the crusades makes room for the political ideal and economic interests which would come first as we will show in the case of the Fourth Crusade when the Venetians would lead the Western crusaders to Constantinople which they would devastate and exploit, generating tensions and resentments until these days.

¹⁴¹ Jonathan Harris, *Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium*, London – New York, 2007, pp. 149-168.

¹⁴² Lucian Gafton, *art. cit.*, p. 405.

¹⁴³ Louis Brehier, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

TRANSYLVANIAN “SCHISMATICS”, “HERETICS” AND “INFIDELS” IN THE VISION OF 13TH-16TH CENTURY CATHOLIC EUROPE

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Abstract. *From a documentary point of view, there are many records from the 13th–16th centuries that show confessional intolerance specific to the European medieval society in general, and the Transylvanian one in particular. The terms “schismatics”, “heretics” and “infidels” often used in connection with the Orthodox Romanians from the intra- and extra-Carpathian space in the documents of the papal court, and in those issued by the chancelleries of the Catholic Hungarian kings, are eloquent. The examples of confessional intransigency and the numerous measures to moderate the missionary zeal of Rome issued by the Hungarian kings and nobility themselves can outline the true image of medieval religious Transylvania only if examined together.*

Keywords: *schismatic, heretic, infidel, Transylvania, Orthodoxy, Catholicism.*

Necessary and justified in the vision of the papacy, the conquest of Constantinople (1204), accused of having irremediably fallen in the grave sin of the “schism”, marked the beginning of a new stage in the tormented history of the two poles of Christianity, Orthodoxy and Catholicism. From then on, the idea of regaining ecclesiastical unity, in the sense of the Eastern Church returning in the bosom of Rome, or in the sense of the unconditional hierarchical and dogmatic subordination of the Christian East to the West, represented a constant aim of papal policy throughout the Middle Ages. Reaching this more and more radicalized aim required time, resources and especially the use of diversified means of persuasion¹.

A theorist of the “Universalis Ecclesia” principle par excellence, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), self-named “sole holder of the ultimate spiritual and

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¹ Șerban Papacostea, *România în secolul al XIII-lea. Între Cruciată și Imperiul mongol*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1993, pp. 49-50.

temporal power”², connected, through subtle rhetoric, the idea of bringing back the Orthodox community to the bosom of the Catholic Mother Church to the very aim of the crusades, namely that of eliminating “the infidels”³. This movement of translation, in which the term “schismatic” becomes synonymous to that of “heretic” – the refusal by the Eastern Church to accept the “dogma” that the Holy Spirit also proceeds “from the Son” (the so-called “Filioque addition”) made the “schism” to exceed the sphere of disciplinary infractions and enter that of doctrinarian deviations –, gave immediate motivation for the intervention of the secular arm of the Church, namely the armed forces of the European Catholic kingdoms⁴.

The project, together with all the relevant terminology used in the case of Orthodoxy, can be found on the list of priorities of the ecclesial policy of most medieval pontiffs who succeeded him⁵. In Transylvania, the project coincided perfectly with the expansionist tendencies of the Hungarian royalty, named, due to its missionary “zeal”, “apostolic” and “of divine right”. Behind this seemingly divine mission, however, there was just the human vanity of both parties; Rome, through the armed support of the Hungarian apostolic state, fulfilled its aim for universal ecclesiastic hegemony, and the Hungarian royalty, driven by political-economic interests exclusively, expanded and consolidated its boundaries through denationalization and religious dismemberment, with the help of the Pontifical Seat. The victim of this fateful, conjectural collaboration was the Romanian Orthodoxy⁶.

From a documentary point of view, there are countless records of this confessional intolerance in the 13th-16th centuries; the terms “schismatics”, “heretics” or “infidels” used for the Orthodox Romanians from the intra- and extra-Carpathian space are eloquent⁷. Many dispositions issued by the political and ecclesiastical authorities of the time affected only the present-day territories

² Ioan Aurel Pop, *Elita românească din Transilvania în secolele XIII-XIV (origine, statut, evoluție)*, in Marius Diaconescu (coord.), *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania. Az Erdélyi román nemesség*, Muzeul Sătmărean, Satu-Mare, 1997, p. 39.

³ Șerban Papacostea, *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc*, Corint, București, 1999, pp. 222-223.

⁴ I. A. Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁵ Atanasie Marienescu, *Izvoare pentru istoria bisericească ortodoxă*, vol. II, Sibiu, 1911, pp. 12-50; Ștefan Lupșa, „Catholicismul și românii din Ardeal și Ungaria până la anul 1556”, in *Candela*, Cernăuți, 1-2, 1929, pp. 94-132.

⁶ Alexandru I. Ciurea, „Rezistența Bisericii românești față de prozelitismul catolic”, in *Studii Teologice*, București, 3-4, 1949, p. 218; Dumitru Stăniloae, *Uniatismul din Transilvania, încercare de dezmembrare a poporului român*, Institutul Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1973, p. 5.

⁷ A true “inventory” of such terms can be found at At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Ioan Aurel Pop, „Un privilegiu regal solemn de la 1366 și implicațiile sale”, in *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*, Satu Mare, 1-2, 1997, pp. 76-77.

of Hungary, Serbia and Bosnia, where not only the Orthodox people, but also the Bogomils, the Hussites, the Muslims and the Mosaics were targeted; other dispositions targeted Transylvania. From the multitude of examples, we will select those that are more relevant, i.e. those that are directly connected to the Transylvanian space.

Shortly after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latin crusaders, the Fourth Lateran Council called by Pope Innocent III in 1215, forbade the existence of Orthodox bishops along with the Latin ones and decided to appoint Catholic vicars for believers of a different denomination⁸. If Pope Innocent III's direct successor, Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) included the Romanians among the "enemies" of the Catholic Church⁹, Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) took the first concrete measures against the intra-Carpathian Orthodoxy. In 1232, he sent bishop Jacob Prenestin to Hungary as an apostolic legate, with the mission of counseling King Andrew II (1205-1235) to convert or to eliminate all the "schismatics" from his kingdom; in 1234, Crown Prince Béla IV took an oath before this legate in which he undertook to subject all the Hungarian Orthodox to the Roman Church¹⁰.

After the great Mongol invasion of 1241-1242, the confessional pressure subsided; the priorities of kings Béla IV (1235-1270), Stephen V (1270-1272), Ladislaus IV the Cuman (1272-1290) and Andrew III (1290-1301) were to consolidate the Carpathian borders of their kingdom and to annihilate Transylvania's attempts to separate from Hungary¹¹. In 1273, in a memorandum sent to Pope Gregory X (1271-1276) by bishop Bruno of Olmütz we can read that "the heretics and the schismatics who have run away from other countries are openly supported throughout the Kingdom"¹². After the unionist Council of Lyons of 1274, however, where the emissaries of Byzantine King Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258-1282) showed their willingness to accept the Western teaching of faith, the Catholic proselytism was revived¹³.

Aiming at converting the Cumans, i.e. the eradication of all non-Christian cults and of all the "heretics", another pope, Nicholas III (1277-1280), sent bishop Philip de Fermo as an apostolic legate to the Hungarian Kingdom in

⁸ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

⁹ Antonie Plămădeală, *Romanitate, continuitate, unitate (pornind de la un izvor narativ din 1666)*, Arhiepiscopia Sibiului, Sibiu, 1988, p. 185.

¹⁰ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria României* (edit. Nicolae Densușianu), Academia Română, București, vol. I/1, 1887, p. 128; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 98; *Documente privind istoria României C. Transilvania*, vol. I, București, 1951, no. 230, pp. 275-276; Ioan Lupăș, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni*, ed. a II-a, Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 37.

¹¹ Ș. Papacostea, *Românii...*, p. 132.

¹² E. Hurmuzaki, I/1, p. 399.

¹³ Ș. Papacostea, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

1279¹⁴. In the same year, it was decided at the Council of Buda that the Orthodox priests “should not be forgiven if they keep a godly cult, build chapels or other holy establishments, nor should the believers be forgiven if they participate in such godly cult or enter such chapels”, inflicting, in case of opposition, “brachial force”¹⁵; the content of these dispositions was to be posted in all the churches-cathedrals throughout the kingdom¹⁶. Although he had taken an oath in this sense and had undertaken to chase away all the “false believers” on several occasions¹⁷, Ladislaus IV the Cuman never actually enforced these measures, which attracted a lot of criticism from the papacy¹⁸; when he died, there were suspicions that he might have passed over as an Orthodox¹⁹.

At the same time, in 1290, Pope Nicholas IV (1299-1292) asked Voivode Roland of Transylvania (1282; 1284-1285; 1288-1293) to support legate Benevenuto of Engubini in his fight against “the schismatics and the heretics”²⁰. In his letter from 1299, addressed to Archbishop Inquisitor George of Strigonia (Esztergom), Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) requested that “the plague of heresy, schism and paganism should be uprooted”, giving his blessing to the high-ranking Catholic prelate so that he could act against them “in his capacity as inquirer and punisher, according to canonic and legal decrees”²¹.

If in the 13th century the religious policy of Arpadian kings proved oscillating, sometimes even favorable, beginning with the reign of Charles Robert of Anjou (1310-1342), the first Angevin king on the Hungarian throne, the Latin proselytism became intransigent, and the catholicization of those belonging to another confession than Rome became a priority of the Hungarian state politics²². Thus, the popes found in the representatives of this dynasty and in their successors the support they had wished for so long. In 1319, Roman

¹⁴ E. Hurmuzaki, I/I, pp. 430-435; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁵ Augustin Bunea, *Ierarchia românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, Seminarul Archidieceșan, Blaj, 1904, pp. 79-80; Idem, *Încercare de istoria românilor până la 1382*, Academia Română, București, 1912, pp. 199-200; Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria Bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, ed. a II-a, vol. I, Tipografia Diecezană, Sibiu, 1935, p. 41; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 100; *Documente privind istoria României...*, C, II, no. 228, pp. 205-208.

¹⁶ Zenovie Pâclișanu, „Propaganda catolică între românii din Ardeal și Ungaria înainte de 1500”, in *Cultura Creștină*, Blaj, 1-2, 1920, p. 10.

¹⁷ Hurmuzaki, I/I, p. 421; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16; A. Bunea, *Încercare...*, p. 199; Vasile Mangra, *Contribuțiune la Istoria Bisericii Române*, Tipografia Diecezană, Sibiu, 1917, pp. 29-30; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁸ Hurmuzaki, I/I, pp. 430-435; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Z. Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁹ Hurmuzaki, I/I, p. 499; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

²⁰ Hurmuzaki, I/I, p. 497; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

²¹ Hurmuzaki, I/I, pp. 542-545; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; V. Mangra, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Z. Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 101; *Documente privind istoria României...*, C, II, pp. 460-461.

²² Ș. Papacostea, *Geneza statului...*, p. 224.

Pontiff John XXII (1316-1334) asked the Archbishop of Strigonium to eradicate, with the help of the papacy, all the “schismatics” from Hungary. Between 1327 and 1330, the same pope encouraged the Western monastic orders (Minorite Franciscans and Dominican preachers) to do fruitful missionary work among the Orthodox Romanians from Hungary and from across its borders²³. All these initiatives seem to have had some degree of success since in the year 1328, John XXII recommended Hungarian prelates not to levy too much tithe on the catholicized Cumans, Romanians and Slavs but to show them “goodwill and courtesy” lest they should be scared away²⁴, an indirect indication of the reversed treatment applied to those that had not been converted²⁵.

With the reign of the Angevin King Louis the Great (1342-1382), the Catholic offensive entered a new stage²⁶. In 1345, Pope Clement VI (1324-1352) was happy to note the increasing number of religious conversions in Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia and Serbia²⁷. In the year 1356, the next pope, Innocent VI (1352-1362) allowed Louis to banish all “the schismatics and the infidels” from the Kingdom of Hungary²⁸, and reinforced an older bull issued to the prior of the order of the Hungarian Dominicans in order to preach “the crusade” against all the Orthodox “heretics” from Transylvania, Bosnia and Slovakia²⁹. After 1360, the confessional intransigence of the Catholics became even harsher; beginning with 1365, the year when Vidin was conquered, the mission of achieving the “unity of faith” was the responsibility of Bosnia’s Franciscan Vicariate, whose “jurisdiction” included the Country of Hațeg from the county of Hunedoara. A theorist of this rigorous religious militantism, Vicar Bartholomew of Alverna addressed at length the whole range of doctrinarian “errors” of the Romanian, Serbian and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches in three of his letters dating from the years 1379-1382. In his vision, eliminating the Orthodox clergy and replacing them with Latin ones would have led to regaining the numerous Catholics that had embraced the “schism” as well as to new conversions among the “heretics”, and the conclusive Catholicization of the subjects would have led to a greater cohesion of the feudal world³⁰.

²³ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-105.

²⁴ Hurmuzaki, I/1, p. 609; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²⁵ Vasile V. Muntean, *Contribuții la istoria Banatului*, Mitropolia Banatului, Timișoara, 1990, p. 123.

²⁶ Z. Păclișanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

²⁷ Hurmuzaki, I/1, pp. 697-698; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106; *Documenta Romaniae Historica D. Relații între țările române*, vol. I, Academia Română, București, 1977, no. 32, pp. 60-61.

²⁸ Hurmuzaki, I/2, p. 39; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 107; *Documenta Romaniae Historica C. Transilvania*, vol. XI, Academia Română, București, 1978, no. 32, p. 32.

²⁹ Hurmuzaki, I/2, p. 39; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 107; *Documenta Romaniae...*, C, XI, no. 9, p. 13.

³⁰ Ș. Papacostea, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-101, 226-237.

During the year 1366, through several concrete measures, Louis the Great, who was in full conflict with the Romanian “rebels” located outside the Carpathians, started an ample process of consolidating Catholicism within the Kingdom. These measures, taken during his intra-Carpathian itinerary, were included into three documents. The first one, drafted on 28 June 1366, established the new judiciary organization of Transylvania; the common Romanians, as well as their knyazal (royal nobility) élite were openly discriminated against compared to the representatives of the ruling Hungarian nation³¹. The second document, whose exact date of issue is unknown, stated the relationship between the nobility as an “estate” and the Catholic confession in the following terms: “*Nobody but he who is a true Catholic and cultivates with fidelity the faith that the Roman Church holds and witnesses can keep and possess properties with a nobility title or a knyazship (territory ruled or administered by a knyaz) title*”. The third decree, issued at Lipova on 20 July and preserved in the copy delivered to the counties of Cuvin and Caraş³², ordered all the nobles and landowners, the citadels and royal towns on whose territories there were “Slavic or schismatic” priests to summon them, together with their families and goods, before the Benedict Himfy committee or before his brother³³.

This royal order opened the series of systematic and legalized persecutions against the Orthodox clergy. Together, the three documents outlawed the Orthodox confession, restricting the social evolution of any person who did not belong to the official Church of the Kingdom, i.e. the Catholic one³⁴. In the next year, Pope Urban V (1362-1370) praised his missionary zeal and consequently Louis tried even harder; around 1368-1369, with Louis’ support, the Franciscans established several monasteries in south-west Transylvania and in Banat (Haţeg, Caransebeş, Orşova, etc.), under the jurisdiction of Bosnia’s Catholic Vicariate³⁵.

In the context of the attempts to consolidate the region of Banat against the Ottoman offensive, but also upon the insistence of the Franciscan monks, worried about the increasing number of Catholics who were going over to the “schismatic” Orthodox Church, his successor, King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437), reinforced and developed the dispositions included in the second document issued in the summer of 1366, in which the legal possession of properties in the Kingdom of Hungary was conditioned on belonging to the

³¹ *Documenta Romaniae...*, C, XIII, no. 92, pp. 159-165; I. A. Pop, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-84; Ş. Papacostea, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

³² Ş. Papacostea, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

³³ Hurmuzaki, I/2, p. 132; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31; A. Bunea, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Şt. Lupşa, *op. cit.*, p. 107; *Documenta Romaniae...*, C, XIII, pp. 226-227.

³⁴ Ş. Papacostea, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95. To see, Ioan D. Suci, *Monografia Mitropoliei Banatului*, Mitropolia Banatului, Timişoara, 1977, p. 54; I. A. Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁵ Şt. Lupşa, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Ş. Papacostea, *op. cit.*, p. 226, n. 12.

Roman confession³⁶. The decree, dated 5 December 1428, specified: 1. only the Catholics were allowed to own possessions with a nobility title or a knyazship (territory ruled or administered by a knyaz) title; 2. under the penalty of being dispossessed, the nobles and the knyazs were forbidden to allow “schismatic” priests on their estates; 3. marriages between Catholics and Orthodox were forbidden, as well as eating meat on Saturday and baptizing children in the Eastern religion; 4. the dispossession of the “heretics” converted to Orthodoxy, regardless of their social standing; 5. the interdiction to perform the Orthodox baptism, and the instructions to pursue, retain and confiscate the estates of the Eastern priests who might break this order. The measures were to be enforced in the district of Caransebeș; only the last one, as a precaution, was to be enforced in the districts of Hațeg and Mehadia as well³⁷. On 31 July 1429, the monks of the Franciscan monastery of Hațeg requested a copy of this document from Voivode Ladislaus Csáki of Transylvania (1426-1436)³⁸.

Following up on these orders, King Sigismund reconfirmed the privileges granted to the Franciscan monks, and on 30 September 1433, he instructed them to establish churches and monasteries and to eradicate “the heretic falsity” in Banat of Severin and the Country of Hațeg³⁹. In 1436, Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) sent inquisitor Jacob of Marchia to fight the Hussites from the Kingdom. He was also active in Transylvania in June-July; on his way to Cenad, he probably crossed the Hunedoara territory. Since there are no data attesting to the presence of the Hussites on the territory of present-day Hunedoara County, the inquisitor’s mission, according to his correspondence with the Archbishop of Strigonium, would have been extended to converting “the schismatics”⁴⁰. In 1457, sent by Pope Callixtus III (1455-1458), Jacob of Marchia was present in the Kingdom of Hungary again⁴¹.

In mid 15th century, despite the conciliatory spirit it displayed, the offensive meant to bring back the Orthodox on the “right path” of the Catholic Church was still wrapped in intolerance, papacy enjoying the support of the armed “secular arm”. At the time, the action of inquisitor John of

³⁶ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; I. D. Suciu, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; Ioan Aurel Pop, *Națiunea română medievală*, Fundația Culturală Română, București, 1998, p. 92.

³⁷ Z. Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117; Ioan D. Suciu, Radu Constantinescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Mitropoliei Banatului*, vol. I, Mitropolia Banatului, Timișoara, 1980, pp. 85-90; Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Drăgan (coord.), *Izvoare privind Evul Mediu românesc. Țara Hațegului în secolul al XV-lea (1402-1473)*, Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, no. 59, pp. 78-79.

³⁸ *Izvoare...*, no. 60, p. 79.

³⁹ Hurmuzaki, I/2, pp. 575-580; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 117; I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92; *Izvoare...*, no. 68, p. 86.

⁴⁰ Hurmuzaki, I/2, pp. 604-608; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38; Z. Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁴¹ Hurmuzaki, II/2, p. 86; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Capistrano/Giovanni da Capestrano (1386-1456), was seen as emblematic. He was canonized by the Vatican in the year 1690, and he is known as the one who, between 1455-1456, turned – according to Orthodox historiography – the papal campaign promoting a new anti-Ottoman Christian crusade into one converting Easterners to Catholicism⁴².

Italian by origin, John of Capistrano had filled the position of magistrate and governor of Perugia until the year 1416. A well-known Franciscan preacher, received the mission, since 1426, to bring order dissident of “Fratricellis” in obedience to Rome, he undertook, together with Jacob of Marchia, a vast action of elimination of the Hussite social-religious movement in Bohemia⁴³. Answering an invitation by king Casimir IV Jagiellon (1447-1492), in the year 1451, he went to Poland, with a view to bringing The Orthodox Ruthenians in that kingdom under the wing of the Catholic Church. When he took part in the Győr Diet of July 1455 – the reason for summoning it was the necessity to find a solution concerning the disastrous situation of the Christian defensive facing the Ottoman danger – Capistrano came into contact with the confessional realities of the Hungarian Kingdom. From that moment on, the conversion of Romanians and Serbs to Catholicism became the goal of his new mission. As such, in the autumn of 1455, he came to Banat, specifically to the region of Cenad, Timișoara, Lipova and Caransebeș, from where he was called later on by the Transylvanian voivode John Hunyadi, governor (1446-1453) and then captain general (1453-1456) of Hungary, to his castle in Hunedoara; the presence of the inquisitor as part of the entourage of the Romanian leader was owing to the same attempts of coalising the Christian world in the form of a new crusade⁴⁴.

At that moment of his activity he must have come into contact – directly or indirectly – with the leader of the Romanian Orthodox Transylvanians, Metropolitan John, native of Kaffa in Crimea (today Feodosiya, Ukraine). Taking advantage of his capacity as “inquisitor haereticae et schismaticae pravitatis”⁴⁵, Capistrano launched, on 6th January 1456, from the Franciscan monastery in Hațeg, a call to all the Transylvanian nobles, asking that they burn down all the Orthodox churches on their estates, calling them “synagogues of Satan”, and that

⁴² Z. Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29; Eugen Arădeanul [Glück], „Din istoria Eparhiei Aradului și Hunedoarei de la mijlocul secolului al XV-lea”, in *Mitropolia Banatului*, Timișoara, 1-3, 1982, p. 90; Marius Diaconescu, „Les implications confessionnelles du Concile de Florence en Hongrie”, in *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*, Satu Mare, 1-2, 1997, pp. 41-46; Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440-1514*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2000, pp. 100-101.

⁴³ Maria Someșan, *Începuturile Bisericii Române Unite cu Roma*, All Educational, București, 1995, p. 13, n. 14.

⁴⁴ M. Diaconescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44.

⁴⁵ Iulian Mihai Damian, „Iancu de Hunedoara, Ioan de Capestrano și Biserica transilvană de rit răsăritean: noi mărturii despre mitropolitul Ioan de „Caffa””, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”*, Iași, 43-44, 2006-2007, p. 4.

they send away their priests in the event that they refused reconfirmation in the Catholic religion; the provisions of the Florentine Council, through which the validity of the Eastern Holy Mysteries had been acknowledged, were thus violated⁴⁶. Moreover, around the same date, the great papal inquisitor asked John Hunyadi to have John of Kaffa arrested and brought before him in order to be tried⁴⁷.

Consequently, around the middle of the same month, while on a canonic visit in the region of Deva, Șoimoș and Lipova, the Transylvanian metropolitan was arrested and transported to Timișoara⁴⁸, from where, on 17th January, John Hunyadi announced his imprisonment to Capistrano: “Yesterday this disbelieving leader was brought to this place, having been arrested, and we would have gladly sent him to Your Holiness, but the horses were tired and we don’t even know where to send him to Your Holiness. This is why we insistently request that Your Holiness write to us as soon as he reads this and tell us where to send him, because, as we have ascertained Your Holiness, we shall not allow this man to stay in this Kingdom. This is why we ask that you answer as hastily as possible so that the soldiers can bring him to Your Holiness”⁴⁹.

On 25th January, the same Romanian leader let his chamberlain Ambrose know that the Orthodox hierarch had been sent to justice: “*We hereby send, through this Bejan, the disbelieving leader, and therefore assign to you the task of faith to hold the arrested man under close guard at Saint Peter’s [church] as soon as you read this and to send him forward, following the instructions of brother Bartholomew*”⁵⁰. During the captivity of the Orthodox high-hierarchy, his residence, as well as “Saint Hierarch Nicholas” church in Hunedoara, serving as a metropolitan cathedral, were burned down, following the order of Capistrano, and his goods were confiscated⁵¹.

Following the same measures, on 6th February 1456, John Hunyadi ordered the castellans in Șoimoș, Hunedoara and Deva the following: “*As soon as you see this, at the preaching and sound urge of devout brother Székely Mihályi, banish and send away all the Romanian priests ordained by the metropolitan and who are on your lands, after you find out that they were ordained by the so-called leader, but before that were not priests, because they would not receive the [Catholic] faith, and bring such priests yourselves before*

⁴⁶ Z. Păclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Șt. Meteș, *op. cit.*, p. 63; I. Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 124; M. Diaconescu, *op. cit.*, p. 43; I. Drăgan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁴⁷ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142; I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, no. 45-46, pp. 93-95.

⁴⁸ I. Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, ed. a III-a, vol. I, Editura Trinitas, Iași, 2004, pp. 262-263.

⁴⁹ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, no. 3, p. 141; I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, no. 45, pp. 93-94.

⁵⁰ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, no. 4, p. 142; I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, no. 46, pp. 94-95.

⁵¹ Zenovie Păclișanu, „În jurul ierarhiei românilor ardeleni în secolul XV”, in *Revista Istorică Română*, București, 2, 1943, p. 13.

*the aforementioned brother Mihályi, on the grounds of your authority, granted to you by this*⁵².

On the 8th of February, in a new letter addressed to Capistrano, John Hunyadi reconfirmed the help he had promised⁵³. The latter measure had been taken at the insistence of preacher Székely Mihályi⁵⁴, who, on 10th February 1456, complained to John of Capistrano that “*until those false priests [...] are exterminated, the conversion of the schismatic kin will not be accomplished, because in the region of Hunedoara and Deva it is said that the people are inclined to conversion, if not otherwise urged by Peter, archdeacon of the Romanian priests in Hunedoara, with his sermons like red-hot iron, which, as we have well found out, the people fear and, rather than convert, would enter fire, as taught by that man, rather than receive Catholic Baptism*”⁵⁵; he was talking about a close collaborator of Orthodox Metropolitan John, who had become, after the arrest of his hierarch, the leader of Orthodox resistance⁵⁶.

The Romanians’ firm resistance – as it can also be seen from the April 1456 letter addressed by John of Capistrano, from Buda, to Pope Callixtus III⁵⁷ –, as well as the awareness of the need to maintain the unity between the Catholics and the Orthodox in front of the impending Ottoman menace altered his original radicalism⁵⁸. On the eve of the great battle of Belgrade, his speech – he probably knew Romanian too since it would have been necessary in his missionary endeavor⁵⁹ – became even conciliatory: “*Whoever will want to stand beside us against the Turks is our friend*”, even “*the schismatic Serbians, the Romanians, the heretic Jews and any unbelievers*”⁶⁰.

In the light of the foregoing, a question arises: were the members of the Romanian Hunyadi family defenders or oppressors of the Orthodox Church from Transylvania? It is a rightful question, since the available records present them on both sides. As for the religious policy of John of Hunedoara, it was obviously quite oscillating. If in 1456 he ordered the expulsion of the priests from his lands, allowing the church from Hunedoara to be burnt and the Metropolitan Bishop John of Caffa apprehended and sent under escort to be judged by John of Capistrano, the same Romanian ruler had surrounded himself with Orthodox lesser nobles – some of them were priests – knyazs –, had tolerated the presence

⁵² Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, no. 2, p. 141; I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, no. 47, pp. 95-96.

⁵³ E. Arădeanul [Glück], *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁵⁴ Z. Păclișanu, „Propaganda catolică...”, p. 29; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 141; I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, no. 47, pp. 95-96.

⁵⁵ I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, no. 48, p. 96.

⁵⁶ M. Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁵⁷ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 143; I. D. Suciu, R. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, no. 49, p. 97.

⁵⁸ I. Drăgan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁵⁹ Doru Radosav, *Cultură și Umanism în Banat. Secolul XVII*, Editura de Vest, Timișoara, 2003, p. 53.

⁶⁰ M. Diaconescu, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

of the high hierarchy in his citadel and had allowed the monks from Oltenia, from Tismana and Vodița, to act in Transylvania unhindered. There is no conclusive evidence that he was an enthusiast supporter of Capistrano, but there aren't any decisions expressly favoring the Orthodoxy either⁶¹.

His negative attitude might have been a reaction to the autonomous politics of Vladislav II (1447-1456), ruler of the principality of Wallachia, with whom he was in conflict; the Transylvanian Church symbolized the uninterrupted link between the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians⁶². At the same time, John of Hunedoara would have considered the political results of his cooperation with the great inquisitor, i. e. a general call to arms in front of the Ottoman offensive, the only chance of saving the eastern part of Christian Europe⁶³. Thus, it is difficult to give a definitive answer to the above question.

The attitude of his sons was also different. If Ladislaus Hunyadi was favorable to the Eastern Church, allowing, on 30 November 1456, the Orthodox Romanians and Serbs from Hunedoara to rebuild their church that had been burnt down by Capistrano's "crusaders"⁶⁴, his brother Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490), on the other hand, continued his father's duplicitous religious policy. On the one hand, the permission to build the church from Hunedoara (5 July 1548), the measures meant to protect the Orthodox monks against the Minorite Franciscans (1476)⁶⁵, the exemption from church tithe for the priests from Maramureș on 20 March 1479⁶⁶ and for all the people of Orthodox faith on 15 July 1481⁶⁷ indicate him as a protector of Orthodoxy. On the other hand, in 1478, the same Romanian king, pressured by the Western monks, reconfirmed the 1428 anti-Orthodox diploma of King Sigismund⁶⁸ and in 1483, allowed inquisitor Nicholas of Cassovia, the emissary of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) in Hungary, to apprehend and punish "the heretics and the schismatics" from there⁶⁹. From a conciliatory point of view, however, the cautious foreign policy he promoted greatly contributed to eroding the possible consequences of the post-Florentine union⁷⁰.

⁶¹ Z. Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 124-125; I. D. Suci, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁶² E. Arădeanu [Glück], *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁶³ M. Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁶⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardelene și maramureșene*, vol. I, București, 1906, p. LX, 278; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Iosif Pataki, *Domeniul Hunedoara la începutul secolului al XVI-lea. Studii și documente*, Academia Română, București, 1973, p. LXIII.

⁶⁵ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara și românii din vremea sa. Studii*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 115.

⁶⁶ Nicolae Popea, *Vechea Mitropolie Ortodoxă Română a Transilvaniei, suprimarea și restaurarea ei*, Tipografia Diecezană, Sibiu, 1870, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁷ Hurmuzaki, II/2, p. 182; M. Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁶⁸ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-140; I. A. Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁶⁹ Hurmuzaki, II/2, p. 277; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 128; I. Drăgan, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁷⁰ A. A. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

In 1457, Pope Callixtus III claimed it had been achieved, demanding that all Orthodox priests utter his name during the Holy Liturgy and that “The Creed” include the “Filioque addition”⁷¹. In addition, in 1468 the king regulated that the church tithe had to be collected only from the Romanians on the Catholic estates⁷², which leads us to the question whether all the people of Orthodox faith might have been considered as united with the Roman faith⁷³.

Carrying on some of his predecessor’s anti-Orthodox measures, in 1500, King Vladislav II Jagiello (1490-1516) enforced the provisions of the 1428 diploma⁷⁴ and renewed Matthias’ decree from 1468 regarding the collection of church tithe from the Romanians living on the lands of Catholic landowners⁷⁵. Even after the disaster from Mohács on 29 August 1526, followed by the transformation of most part of Hungary in Turkish pashalik in 1541, the Catholic confessional pressure against the Orthodox believers continued; the fact that a large number of Catholic Hungarian nobles took refuge in Transylvania led to a temporary strengthening of the Latin Church⁷⁶. Thus, the Diet assembled at Turda on 23 October 1545 obliged the Orthodox Romanians, under the penalty of beheading, to get married according to the Catholic Church rite⁷⁷. In 1552, once Transylvania entered the Habsburg rule, King Ferdinand I (1526-1564) set among the duties of the new voivode Andrew Báthory (1552-1553) that of imposing the Catholic religion⁷⁸.

Despite the numerous examples of confessional intransigence mentioned above, we must notice the fact that along time, there were cases when the Hungarian kings and nobility themselves took some measure to temperate the missionary zeal that was based on the policy of banishing “the schismatics” from Transylvania; enforcing these measures would have led to the depopulation of entire areas, which was not accepted by the feudal rulers, who would have lost their labor force⁷⁹. Thus, King Ladislaus IV the Cuman promoted a conciliatory policy in relation to non-Latin confessions from Transylvania, which is demonstrated by the many suspicions that were arisen in Rome at the time of his death as to whether he had died a Catholic or an Orthodox⁸⁰. Also relevant is the episode from the year 1480, when, against the background of the dissensions

⁷¹ Hurmuzaki, II/2, p. 182; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

⁷² Hurmuzaki, II/2, p. 182; I. D. Suciu, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁷³ A. A. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁷⁴ Hurmuzaki, II/2, p. 448; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁷⁵ Hurmuzaki, II/2, p. 447; At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁷⁶ Constantin Voicu, *Biserica strămoșească din Transilvania în luptă pentru unitatea spirituală și națională a poporului român*, Tipografia Eparhială, Sibiu, 1989, p. 34.

⁷⁷ Hurmuzaki, II/4, p. 380; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁷⁸ Hurmuzaki, II/5, p. 13; Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁷⁹ M. Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁸⁰ At. Marienescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-20.

between Matthias Corvinus and Pope Sixtus IV, the king threatened Rome with Hungary's conversion to Orthodoxy⁸¹.

The most definite proof of the tensions between Rome and the secular authorities is, however, the conflict between Transylvanian Voivode Ladislav Kán (1294/1295-1315) and Pope Clement V (1305-1314) following the political-religious dissidence of the former. In 1307, he had blocked the election of the new Catholic bishop of Alba Iulia, and in 1308, he forbade passage through the territory of Hunedoara to a delegation of Transylvanian Saxons en route to Rome; moreover, he had sequestered the crown of the king of Hungary and had married his daughter to Stephen Uroš, the son of the Orthodox King Stephen Milutin of Serbia etc.⁸²

Therefore, the mission of the papal legates, inquisitors and preachers generally failed, their methods excluding the possibility of bridging the interconfessional gap. Failing to attract the masses of Orthodox believers, a different tactic was used; this time, the social élite of the Romanians was targeted⁸³. At a time when the nationality was confounded with the religious confession and vice versa, and embracing Catholicism was the only way to reach a higher social status, the Orthodox élite, formed of many local knyazs and voivodes documented throughout the Romanian Middle Ages, had to fall into line with these new encroachments. In other words, belonging to the Eastern confession was incompatible with the right to land ownership, with the nobiliary social status and with all the other related privileges, such as eligibility to political or ecclesiastic key positions; the royal documents dating from 1366, 1428 and 1478 clearly demonstrate this reality. The social constraints caused, in this case, the confessional defections. The scheme was simple: the land owned by Romanian knyazs and voivodes, in virtue of the traditional "jus keneziale", could be justified before the authorities only if they were reconfirmed by a royal diploma, but this acknowledgement was conditioned on the going over of the Orthodox nobles to the "official" Church of the Kingdom, namely the Roman Catholic one⁸⁴.

In what concerns the confessional affiliation of the old Romanian knyazal families, we ought to note the fact that their process of Catholicization, started in

⁸¹ Șt. Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 128; M. Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁸² Ioan Lupșa, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei în luptă cu Regatul Ungar. Voievodul Ladislav (1291-1315)*, in vol. *Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice*, vol. II, Cluj, 1940, pp. 33-40; *Istoria românilor* III. *Genezele românești* (coord. Ștefan Pascu, Răzvan Theodorescu), Academia Română, București, 2001, pp. 360-362.

⁸³ I. A. Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁸⁴ Idem, *Observații privitoare la structura etnică și confesională a Ungariei și Transilvaniei medievale (sec. IX-XIV)*, in Dan Berindei (coord.), *Istoria României. Pagini transilvane*, Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, pp. 38-39; A. A. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 97; M. Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

the second half of the 14th century, reached its apogee in the age of John of Hunedoara when, on the background of the diffusion of the Florentine unionist principles, many declared their formal affiliation to the Church of Rome so that they could legitimize their rights. The documents show many examples of Orthodox families, in areas of compact Romanian habitation (the Country of Hațeg, the area of Hunedoara, Banat, Zarand, Maramureș), who had a rapid social ascent⁸⁵. Behind such ascent, however, one can see the political opportunism (the collaboration with the state was the guarantee for a privileged social status, visible through the decision-making positions held) and the social opportunism (the new status involved the adoption of the cultural, mental and fashion requirements of the time) of those who wanted to transcend their condition in a “legal” way⁸⁶. Unfortunately, persevering in this duplicitous spiritual behavior of trying to reconcile their own Eastern traditions with the new Western precepts resulted in creating new convictions, which, at an ethnic level, meant the alienation from their own people and language⁸⁷. In the 16th-17th centuries, these families will constitute the basis for the penetration of the Reform among the Romanians⁸⁸.

⁸⁵ A. A. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁸⁶ *Idem*, *Ctitori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700*, Muzeul Sătmărean, Satu Mare, 1997, p. 27; I. A. Pop, *Națiunea română...*, pp. 117-118; I. Drăgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-185.

⁸⁷ Imposed by the customs of the time, the Magyarization of the names – we are giving several examples from present-day county of Hunedoara: Barcsai (of Bârcea), Borbatvizy (of Râu Bărbat), Brazovay (of Breazova), Csulay (of Ciula), Fejervizy (of Râu Alb), Galatzi (of Galați), Hunyadi (Huniade), Kernyesdi (of Cârnești), Kristiory (of Crișcior), Maczesdi (of Mățești), Nalaczy (of Nălați), Oncsoki (of Unciuc), Osztrovai (of Ostrov), Pesthyeny (of Peșteana), Ribiczey (of Ribița), Rusori (of Rușor), Szacsali (of Săcel), Szilvasi (of Silvaș), Thwschyay/Tuscsay (of Tuștea), Totesdi (of Totești), Wady (of Vad), Kendeffy (Câdea), Kenderessy (Cândreș), Török (Turcu), Mursinay (Mușina), etc. – was synchronized with the very process of gradual denationalization of the Romanian nobiliary families; for their history and evolution, see Ioan Pușcariu, *Date istorice privitoare la familiile române*, vol. I-II, Sibiu, 1892.

⁸⁸ A. A. Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara...*, p. 119.

16TH CENTURY VENETIAN BAILIFFS' REPORTS ON REALITIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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Abstract. *Venice's special interests in Levant lead to the development of an important system of information concerning the Ottoman Empire. As part of this system, the Venetian bailiffs sent to Constantinople regularly wrote reports not only on the Ottoman Empire itself, but also on its tributary countries. Among these, they often mentioned Wallachia, Moldavia ("Bogdania") and Transylvania, as having the same status of Christian countries dependent on the Ottomans. All three countries paid the annual tribute, but in different amounts. Besides the tribute, the reports mentioned the military obligations, the gifts for the Sultan and the Ottoman officials, the sums for the confirmation of the rulers, other goods claimed occasionally. Venetian officials highlighted the former wealth of the countries, at that time despoiled by the Empire, and their previously fierce anti-Ottoman attitude as well. However, they also mentioned the rebellions that occasionally broke out, punishment and conquest campaigns organized by the Sultans and the Pashas. Thus, through the data they provided, the reports were instrumental in establishing the Venetian policy towards the Porte.*

Keywords: *Venice, Ottoman Empire, Romanian Countries, Venetian reports.*

Just as the Ottoman Empire was highly interested in the fate of Venice, Serenissima had also developed a system of information about what was happening in the Levant and, especially, in Constantinople. Venice still was in the 16th century – the century of the great victory of Lepanto (1571) – a leading continental power, with special interests in the Levant and focused on the development of the Ottoman Empire, which had reached its strength peak¹.

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¹ See Roberto Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Firenze, 1981; J. J. Norwich, *Storia di Venezia*, Milano, 1982; Charles Diehl, *La Repubblica di Venezia. La storia secolare di questa città straordinaria, le circostanze che la resero grande e le cause che ne provocarono la decadenza*, Roma, 2007.

Serenissima's ships pierced with difficulty the Eastern half of the Mediterranean basin, trying to face all sorts of pressures, conflicts and instability. A report from 3rd August 1574 clearly showed why the Venetians' interest in the Ottoman Empire was so great: "Because, God willing, the Ottoman Empire, with a history of almost perpetual victories, seized so many provinces and subjugated so many countries, and, therefore, became formidable throughout the world, there will not be useless nor outside the reason to suspect that it might even turn into a world monarchy also because such a serious danger [...]"² threatened Christianity. Thus, the great danger, once underestimated, compelled the Europeans to know their opponent better. The Venetians, as well as other political entities in the Italian Peninsula, led by the Holy See, proceeded accordingly ever since the 14th century, when the Ottoman Turks had set foot in Europe³.

Therefore, careful observers in the service of the Republic, from simple undercover spies to the official ones⁴, i.e. the Venetian ambassadors called bailiffs⁵ (and vicebailiffs), thoroughly scrutinized the land, sending periodic reports to the Doge, and especially to the Senate and the College of the Serenissima, writing detailed reports and even keeping diaries. These documents contain various and complex data from different fields the policymakers in the Lagoon were interested in, to justify their decisions⁶. Many of these data refer to the European extent of the empire, to its forces and the revenues entering the sultans' state treasury. Sometimes, the reports submitted to the Venetian authorities contain data on Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, Christian principalities in a special relationship with the Ottoman Empire.

Thus, on 3rd June 1534, according to data collected from a "person known to the Turkish Lord" (Süleyman I Kanunî), the Secretary Daniele de' Ludovici⁷ was writing to the "Enlightened Prince" (i.e. to the Doge Andrea Gritti) that the

² Archivio di Stato di Venezia (further on ASV), Collegio V, Relazioni, b. [busta] 5, Costantinopoli, *Relatione del Clarissimo Messer Marc Antonio Barbaro, fatta in Senato, doppo il baillaggio di Constantinopoli, l'anno 1574, li 3 Agosto*, f. [fila] 1^r.

³ *L'Europa Centro-Orientale e la Penisola italiana: quattro secoli di rapporti e influssi intercorsi tra Stati e civiltà (1300–1700)*, a cura di Cristian Luca e Gianluca Masi, Brăila–Venezia, 2007; *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border (1204–1669)*, edited by Mihai Damian, Ioan–Aurel Pop, Mihailo Popović, Alexandru Simon, Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Wien, 2012.

⁴ Paolo Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, Milano, 1994.

⁵ Eric R. Dursteler, *The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps*, in „Mediterranean Historical Review”, vol. 16, no. 2, 2001, pp. 1–30.

⁶ Michela Dal Borgo, *Popoli, etnie, religion in nelle relazioni degli ambasciatori veneziani*, in „Mediterranean World”, XVIII, 2006, pp. 23–36; Pasquale Baldocci, *L'Impero Ottomano nelle relazioni degli ambasciatori riveneti*, in „Nuova Antologia”, vol. 145, no. 2256, 2010, pp. 333–342.

⁷ Maria Pia Pedani, *Elenco degli inviati diplomatici veneziani presso i sovrani ottomani*, in „Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies”, V, no. 4, 2002, pp. 24–25; P. Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi*, 2^{da} edizione, Roma, 2013, p. 42, 64, 194.

Sultan's dominion was very large and also stretched in Asia, from Egypt to Europe, in Hungary and Transylvania, except for what the "Enlightened King of the Romans" possessed from them, then to "Wallachia and Bogdania, provinces from which strong armies have for a long time held in war and fear the Ottoman House", but which "are now dependent on the free will and are tributaries to the Turkish Lord"⁸. It is also said that the Sultan "keeps as Sanjak the Belgrade and Sirmium, Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria, which are the Moesias, a part of Croatia and Dalmatia, except for those banks that your Highness has in Corfu, Thrace where Constantinople is, with the Chersonese, where Gallipoli is, Macedonia, stretching from the Aegean Sea, where Thessaloniki is, to Ionio, where Durazzo lies, and that shore beyond Epirus, meeting with Achaia, where Athens and Thebes are, too famous fortresses, with Morea and Negroponte. And this country, without including Hungary and Transylvania, Wallachia and Bogdania, is as powerful or more powerful than the entire Spain, because from Zara to Constantinople, surrounding at sea, there are 1,600 miles"⁹. As shown, Wallachia and Moldavia are placed, together with Transylvania and Hungary, outside the Empire itself¹⁰.

In 1553, the bailiff Bernardo Navagero reported from Constantinople about the parts that composed the Empire: "So they are called, with only two names, namely Romània and Anatolia, including – under the name of Anatolia – the Assyrians, the Armenians, the Medians, the Persians, Syria, everything possessed by the Moors, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia [...]. In Europe, then, everything it possesses in Greece, between its borders there are also the two Moesias, which are now called Serbia and Morea, Albania, Thrace, Serbia called by them Bosnia, Bulgaria to the river Sava, and from the Sava entering Macedonia, Thessaly, Focida, Boeotia to the Hungarian borders that in the West it gets closer to Vienna, having Alba Regia and Strigonium with its port and the shores of the Adriatic Sea, and in Dalmatia all Your Highness' places, as well as Cilicia and Syria, located at a short distance from Cyprus and Rhodes"¹¹. By generalization and extension, *Romània*, which was anciently the region around

⁸ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione di persona nota al Signor Turco per occasione della pressa del moro di Alessandria. Lodovisi de Daniele* (3 giugno 1534), f. 3^r-3^v; see *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. I, raccolte, annotate ed edite da Eugenio Albèri, Firenze, 1840, pp. 1-32.

⁹ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione di persona nota al Signor Turco* ..., f. 3^v.

¹⁰Tasin Gemil, *Românii și otomanii în secolele XIV–XVI*, București, 1991; Mihai Maxim, *L'Empire ottoman au nord du Danube et l'autonomie des Principautés Roumaines au XVI^e siècle. Études et documents*, Istanbul, 1999; idem, *Noi documente turcești privind Țările Române și Înalta Poartă (1526–1602)*, Brăila, 2008.

¹¹ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione da Costantinopoli del Magnifico Messer Bernardo Navagiero*, f. 2^v; *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. I, p. 33-110; Radu Constantinescu, *Manuscrite occidentale în bibliotecile românești, București (sec. VIII–XVI)* (II), in „Revista Arhivelor”, LVI, no. 4, 1977, p. 452.

Constantinople (also called Thrace by some), becomes here the whole European Turkey (Rumelia), opposite to Anatolia, that is, to that part of the Ottoman Empire located in Asia. In this case, the Romanian Countries do not appear as part of the Empire, either. Further, we see “what this lord <sultan> gets from the above-mentioned countries”, i.e. the income, designed in different manners: “Some say 15 million in gold per year, others 30,000 ducats per day, which means nine hundred thousand per month”¹². The tribute of Moldavia – usually called Bogdania (in the text it mistakenly appears as *Bridanria*)¹³, according to the Ottoman tradition (of naming a State after the name of its founder) – is estimated at 16 thousand ducats per year, that of Wallachia at 12,000, that of Transylvania at 10,000, of Ragusa at 10 thousand, and that of Chios at 10 thousand as well¹⁴. This report also contains extra details about the Sultan’s armed forces, reinforced by the auxiliaries of Europe and Asia, which are “the Tatars, the Bogdans, the Vlachs” (of Europe) and “the Georgians and the Kurds” (of Asia). The “Bogdans” are presented as “Greek” (Orthodox) Christians, tributaries to the “Turkish Lord”, with a prince called Voivode, confirmed by the Sultan and bound to send, when requested, up to 10 thousand horses for his Majesty’s service; the “Vlachs” are also tributaries to the Lord, their prince being called Voivode too, confirmed by the Lord, at whose request they send 10 thousand horses for his service. Then the tribute is tackled again, presented with different data than previously: the “Bogdan” would send 55 thousand golden escudos per year, the “Vlach” 25 thousand, the “Transylvanian” 150,000 (!), those from Ragusa 12,000, the illustrious Signoria of Venice 8500, the Emperor 300,000, to which are also added the gifts for the Sultan, of an unknown amount¹⁵. In fact,

¹²ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione da Costantinopoli del Magnifico Messer Bernardo Navagiero*, f. 3^r.

¹³ As a rule, in Venetian documents – other than those from Constantinople – Moldavia is named Wallachia, like Wallachia itself.

¹⁴ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione da Costantinopoli del Magnifico Messer Bernardo Navagiero*, f. 4^r; a fragment of this report, extracted from another manuscript copy, was published by Cr. Luca, *Date privitoare la istoria românilor în surse venețiene inedite din veacurile al XVI-lea și al XVII-lea*, in vol. *In honorem Ioan Caproșu*, volume edited by Lucian Leuștean, Maria Magdalena Székely, Mihai-Răzvan Ungureanu, Petronel Zahariuc, Iași, 2002, p. 173. On Wallachia and Moldavia’s tribute to the Ottomans, see Mihai Berza, *Haraciul Moldovei și Țării Românești în secolele XV–XIX*, in „Studii și materiale de istorie medie”, I, 1957, pp. 121-132; M. Maxim, *Haraciul Moldovei și Țării Românești în ultimul sfert al veacului XVI*, in „Studii și materiale de istorie medie”, XII, 1994, pp. 3-46; *idem*, *Tributul românesc la Înalta Poartă: predare, destinație. Noi documente turcești din secolul al XVI-lea*, in vol. *Miscellanea în honorem Radu Manolescu emerito*, editori Zoe Petre și Stelian Brezeanu, București, 1996, pp. 144-157; M. Maxim, *O istorie a relațiilor româno-otomane, cu documente noi din arhivele turcești*, vol. I, *Perioada clasică (1400–1600)*, Brăila, 2012, pp. 66-84.

¹⁵ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione da Costantinopoli del Magnifico Messer Bernardo Navagiero* (data presented at the end of Bernardo Navagiero’s report, without page numbers).

Wallachia, presented with the lowest payment amount, paid the most, and the sum of Transylvania should be reduced about ten times to get closer to reality.

Two years later (in 1555), Domenico Trevisan, a bailiff who returned from Constantinople, presented, on 9th March, a comprehensive report showing that the Sultan ruled “in Europe, from the Boristene river to the Danube, walking along it on a strip to the river Tisa, anciently called Tibisco, containing a part of Wallachia and Transylvania, and on another strip, to the borders of Austria, covering the entire Hungary in this part of the Danube, called the Lower Pannonia, beyond the fact that he also ruled over Bulgaria, called the Lower Moesia, the whole Serbia, Bosnia, called Macedonia, and Moesia Superior, a part of Croatia, Dalmatia, until close to the rocks of Albania and of the entire Greece, on land as well as at sea [...], parts of Asia and Africa usually called and included by the Turks under the name of Anatolia, and those of Europe under the name of România or Greece”¹⁶. In the chapter on revenues, it is stated that the tribute coming from different countries or provinces amounted to 96,500 ducats per year, of which “Bogdania” and “Wallachia” gave 20,000 ducats, Hungary 30,000, Transylvania 10,000, Ragusa 12,000, Chios 10,000, the duke of Naxos 6,000 (for all the islands he owned, which were Nixos, Paros, Antiparos, Milo, Nio, etc.)¹⁷. Due to the short time elapsed from the events, this report presents as current the occupation of Buda, in 1542, of the Alba Regia and of Strigonium, of other places in Hungary, followed by the occupation of Timișoara and Lipova (in 1552), as well as of other “settlements in Transylvania”, so that – it is said – the Ottoman border had reached “not far from Vienna”¹⁸.

A Venetian noble close to the bailiff Antonio Barbarigo noted in 1556 that the Tatars, the Moldavians and the Vlachs were forced to send, at the Sultan’s will, sometimes 20,000, other times 30,000, when needed. Then it is stated that the Tatars were forced to pay up to 40,000 per year, while the Moldovans and the Vlachs up to 25-30 thousand, without the latter having to follow the Tatars to war¹⁹. Further, value judgments are made about the relativity of the soldiers’ number, giving the example of King Louis II of Hungary, who, in 1526, at Mohács, “fighting with a very small number of soldiers against 80,000 Turks,

¹⁶ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relazione di Domenico Trevisan, tornato bailo da Costantinopoli, presentata alli 9 marzo 1555*, f. 2^r-2^v; another version of this report was published in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. I, pp. 111-192, after a copy preserved in mss. Capponi of Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Firenze.

¹⁷ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relazione di Domenico Trevisan, tornato bailo da Costantinopoli, presentata alli 9 marzo 1555*, f. 23^v. The collected contributions did not amount to 96,500 even if Moldavia and Wallachia collectively paid 20,000 ducats, or considering that they paid the respective sum separately, i.e. 20,000 each.

¹⁸*Ibidem*, f. 27^r.

¹⁹ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione di Constantinopoli di un nobile venetiano che andò in compagnia di Antonio Barbarigo, baylo*, f. 22^v.

was defeated and died running in a swamp. Even with all this great disadvantage <of the Christians>, more than 40,000 Turks died and had the king not been betrayed by Voivode John <Zápolya, of Transylvania>, the Turks would have died”²⁰.

Shortly after, in 1559, the “Venerable” Marino Cavalli reported to the Venetian Senate, upon his return from Constantinople, about the hard to imagine size of the Empire of the Sultans (spread over a length of 3000 miles), inhabited by Christians in two-thirds, among which are mentioned the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Slavs, the Albanians (in Europe), the Armenians and the Nestorians (in Asia) – all very displeased by the Ottoman rule; it is also stated that the giant Empire’s neighbours were the Arabs, the Persians, the Georgians, the Mingrelians, the Circassians, the Russians, the Moldavians, the Hungarians, the Germans, and the Venetians²¹. It also added that the Poles were in good peace with the Sultan, although with a more belligerent king, and, being then at peace with the Russians, they would have had the opportunity “of really cornering the Turks”, as had done in the past the Moldavians, the Wallachians, the Transylvanians, and the Hungarians, who were then again “as a halo, waiting for the light to show them the way to free themselves from the Turkish yoke”²².

In 1562, Andrea Dandolo, once vicebailiff in Constantinople, speaks of the Sultan Bayazid²³, who allegedly died without ever letting the army leave his surroundings, although he had had more than one important and even necessary occasion to do so. It is further shown that, when news came from Istanbul about the deposition of the ruler of Moldavia, a tributary to the Porte, by Ioan Despot²⁴, who “became the ruler of the place by the force of eight thousand horsemen”, the Sultan²⁵, although had been greatly shamed by the deprivation of his tributary, the Moldavian voievode, of his State, didn’t hasten to send his army against the above-mentioned Despot; “and thus one can even understand then how, after one plain message sent by the so-called Despot, stating that he wanted to be his very faithful servant and pay to him the same tribute of 30,000 ducats per year the “previous” Voivode had paid, contented himself “with that” without other signs

²⁰*Ibidem*, f. 29^v.

²¹ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione del Clarissimo Messer Marin de Cavalli, Kavalier, refer<i>ta nel Senato, tornato di Bailo da Costantinopoli*, f. 2^v; another version of this report has been published in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. I, pp. 271-298, after a copy preserved in mss. Capponi de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Firenze.

²²ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione del Clarissimo Messer Marin de Cavalli, Kavalier, refer<i>ta nel Senato, tornato di Bailo da Costantinopoli*, f. 3^v.

²³This is about Sultan Bayezid II Veli (1481–1512).

²⁴Iacob Heraclide, nicknamed Despot (1561–1563), who unthroned Alexandru Lăpuşneanu (1552–1561), during his first rule.

²⁵The author does not specify, but the reference is to Sultan Suleiman the Great (Süleyman I Kanunî), who ruled between 1520 and 1566.

of resentment, an unusual fact for the size and greatness of that lord; furthermore, as a sign and token of gladly receiving him in his good graces, he sent his <ruler flag> to him”²⁶.

A “master” of the house of Marc’ Antonio Barbaro, a diplomat in the service of the Serenissima, wrote in his diary, around the ’70s of the sixteenth century, about the size of the Empire, which had as neighbours and tributaries the “Bogdans”, the “Vlachs”, the “Transylvanians”, the Holy Roman Emperor (which incorporated Habsburg Hungary), the Croats and even the Italians, the border getting very close to the region of Friuli²⁷. The same person also wrote, on 20th July 1571, that “two people had come from the Vlach to bring tribute to the Grand Turk <the Sultan>”²⁸ and that on 21st June 1572 the tribute from the Emperor had come²⁹. Then, the same “master” wrote that *haraci* (*charach*=*haraç*) is the tribute given by the “Bogdans”, the “Vlachs”, the “Transylvanians”, by Hungary (in fact, by the Emperor for his part of Hungary), by the Ragusan Signory, by the “Arabian kings”, by “Tosapedra” (?), as well as that paid by the “Venetian Serenissimi”³⁰.

After his bailiffship in Constantinople, on 3rd August 1574, Marc’ Antonio Barbaro reported to the Senate that the boundaries of the Sultan’s Empire stretched over significant distances, both in Asia and Europe: “[...] And returning to Europe, on both sides of the Danube, his Empire expands a lot, having as neighbours and tributaries the Bogdans, the Vlachs and the Transylvanians and hence, passing to Hungary, borders with the king and, finally, entering Croatia, spreads its boundaries right up to here, near us, so that it is a little far away from Friuli”³¹. It can be seen that the 1574 report reproduced exactly what had written in his diary, a short time before that, the “master” in the bailiff’s house, who was probably gathering documentary material for the report for his lord.

Around the same time (in 1573), the Senator Costantino Garzoni made an expressive description of Constantinople, stopping as well on the forces and revenues of the Empire. Among the troops charged with the Sultan’s protection, he exceedingly praised a company formed of 400 people named

²⁶ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione di Andrea Dandolo, olim vicebylo a Constantinopoli* (without numbering); *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. III, raccolte, annotate ed edite da E. Albèri, Firenze, 1855, pp. 161-172.

²⁷ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Diario del maestro di casa di Marc’ Antonio Barbaro in Constantinopoli*, f. 1^v.

²⁸*Ibidem*, f. 3^r.

²⁹*Ibidem*, f. 6^v.

³⁰*Ibidem*, f. 20^v.

³¹ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relattione del Clarissimo Messer Marc Antonio Barbaro, fatta in Senato, doppo il bailaggio di Constantinopoli, l’anno 1574, li 3 Agosto*, f. 1^v; another version of this report is published in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato. Appendice*, raccolte, annotate ed edite da E. Albèri, Firenze, 1863, pp. 387-415.

Mutiferaga³², consisting “largely of prominent Turkish and even Christian men”, such as “the brothers of the Vlach and Bogdan, Christians, who serve the Grand Signor, aspiring to that leadership role after the death of their brethren”; they “stand in that yard as hostages to <ensure> the sincerity of their relatives to the Porte”; all “these Mutiferaga stand by the Turkish Lord, never being sent where his Majesty does not go, having no other head except him, <i.e. the Sultan> and each with a revenue of 40 aspres per day and, even more, according to their will; they serve on horseback with great honour and are true gentlemen of the Signor’s person”³³. The same thing is said about the “Bogdans” and the “Vlachs”, namely that they are Greek Christians, tributaries to the Sultan, that their prince is called Voivode, being confirmed by the “Signor” – i.e. the Sultan – and that, when asked, they send 10 thousand horses each for “His Majesty’s” service³⁴. It is also mentioned about the latter that they did not need to buy harquebuses, “having in Wallachia and Bogdania enough iron mines to do as many as they need”³⁵. The Sultan’s subsidies (*le pensioni*) from various princes are accurately valued at 163 thousand and 500 sequins, “i.e. from the Bogdan 36,000, from the Vlach 55,000, from the Transylvanian 30,000, from the Ragusans 12,000, from the Signoria of Venice for the island of Zante 1,500, from the Emperor 30,000”. We are convinced that further revenues are collected from the sales of products from the “Turk’s” gardens, “as the herbs, flowers and fruits that are grown there are all sold in public markets”³⁶. Finally, Marc’ Antonio Barbaro seems again impressed by the extent of the “very large Empire in all three parts of the world”, by the fact that “the Turkish Lord” owns “Caffa and other places on the sea”, that “beyond the Danube there are the tributaries, <that is> Bogdania, Wallachia and Transylvania”, that on this side of the Danube he owns all the provinces to the borders of the Emperor in <Habsburg> Hungary”, that he “possesses, as well, a part of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Albania and the entire Greece”³⁷. Once again, the difference seen by the witness between the “provinces” occupied directly and the tributary ones, i.e. only dependent on the Sultan, is obvious.

³² „Müteferrika” composed a guard, recruited from among the sons of the great rulers, paid with money or zeamete (a kind of feud). Over 400 in number at the beginning of the 16th century, they were a privileged, elite class which also received some of the Romanian princes’ sons; see M. Maxim, *Noi documente turcești* ..., p. 54, note 4.

³³ ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relattione del Clarissimo Messer Marc Antonio Barbaro* ..., f. 22^r-22^v; *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. I, pp. 369-436.

³⁴ ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relattione del Clarissimo Messer Marc Antonio Barbaro* ..., f. 22^v.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 26^v.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 30^r; the mentioned sums add to 164,500 sequins, instead of 163,500, mentioned by the Venetian author.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 30^v.

Sometime in the late sixteenth century (after 1574), Bonifacio Antelini also noted that the Sultan's annual subsidies were: "Bogdania, 35 thousand Sequins, Wallachia 15 thousand, Transylvania 130 thousand, Ragusa 12 thousand, Signoria of Venice 1,200 and the Emperor 30 thousand; in addition, there are the assets of the heirless dead and the continuous <gifts> donations"³⁸. Among the armed forces the Sultan could call upon are mentioned 10 thousand riders from "Bogdania", and as many from the "Vlachs", while six Pashas are mentioned at the head of the troops, "who may more or less be at the Great Lord <the Sultan's> discretion". They are: "the first, Mehmet³⁹, of Slavic nationality, the second, Piali⁴⁰, of Hungarian nationality [sic!]⁴¹, the third, Acmat⁴², Albanian, the fourth Mahmut⁴³, of Slavic nationality, the fifth, Mustafa⁴⁴, of Albanian nationality, and the sixth and last, Sinan⁴⁵, also of Albanian nationality"⁴⁶.

Addressing the Senate on 8th November 1576, Ambassador Giacomo Soranzo, "returned from His Highness Sultan Amurath"⁴⁷, also feels bound to cite the Sultan's incomes: "Your Majesty is paid subsidies by Wallachia, 60,000 ducats, Moldavia, 40,000 ducats, Transylvania, 30,000 ducats, Ragusa, 12,000 ducats, the Emperor, 30,000 ducats, Your Serenity for Zante 1,500 ducats, to which are added whatever all the above-mentioned always send as gifts, both to the Lord and to the Pashas, which is at least half of the subsidies"⁴⁸.

In the same year (1576), "His Highness Mr. Anthonio Tiepolo" provided other data on the amount of subsidies received from tribute: "35 thousand sequins Bogdania, 15 thousand Wallachia, 130 thousand Transylvania, 12 thousand Ragusa, Your Serenity 1,500 and the Emperor 30 thousand, which means only from the subsidies 263 thousand and 500 sequins"⁴⁹.

After his second embassy to Constantinople, Giacomo Soranzo presented to the Senate, through his secretary Gerardo Giacomo, on 21st October 1584, new

³⁸ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Bonifacio Antelini di Costantinopoli (fine del 16^{mo} secolo, dopo 1574)*, f. 1^r.

³⁹Sokollu Mehmed Paşa.

⁴⁰Piyale Paşa.

⁴¹In fact, he was Croatian by origin, born in Viganj, in Pelješac Peninsula, in Southern Dalmatia.

⁴²Ahmed Paşa.

⁴³Mahmud Paşa.

⁴⁴Lala Mustafa Paşa.

⁴⁵Koca Sinan Paşa.

⁴⁶ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Bonifacio Antelini di Costantinopoli ...*, f. 1^r.

⁴⁷Sultan Murad III (1574–1595).

⁴⁸ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relazione da Constantinopoli dell'Illustrissimo Ambasciator <Giacomo> Soranzo*, f. 4^v; *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. II, pp. 193–207.

⁴⁹ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relazione del Clarissimo Messer Anthonio Tiepolo*, f. 3^v. The total sum is 223,500 sequins and not 263,500, as Tiepolo says; see *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. II, pp. 129–191.

data on the Sultan's ground forces, but also on the income received from his tributaries in Romanian countries: "the Prince of Wallachia and that of Bogdania are obligated to send war supplies and horses and others, as required by his majesty, when needed"; "the two provinces are tributaries to his Majesty and give, Wallachia 120 thousand gold ducats tribute every year and, because the Sultan asked this when he put him on the throne, makes him pay 600 thousand ducats every three years, besides the tribute, and Bogdania, which pays 40,000 tribute, paid 300 ducats for investiture, besides the large gifts made to the Pashas; therefore, although those provinces are rich by nature, they get to consume no little, paying such sums of money. Transylvania is also tributary to His Majesty, but these Transylvanians choose their own prince or Voivode and pay a tribute of 30 ducats per year and here's one that demands to be Voivode and promises to give 100 thousand ducats per year tribute, but as the current prince of Transylvania is the King of Poland's nephew and really liked by his majesty, things take a long time"⁵⁰. According to the same Giacomo Soranzo, "His Majesty's" (the Sultan's) revenues amounted to about 10 million gold ducats received from Wallachia (120,000), from Moldavia (40,000), Transylvania (30,000), Ragusa (12,000), the Emperor (30,000, for his part of the Kingdom of Hungary) and Venice (1500, for Zante), but also from other sources. The Ambassador also mentioned that whenever the above-mentioned rulers sent their tribute, except Venice, they also sent messengers with gifts for the Sultan and the Pashas, which amounted to about half the tribute⁵¹.

Less than a year later, in September 1585, Giovanni Francesco Morosini, returned from bailiffship in Constantinople, presented in the Senate a report that put Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia on exactly the same plane in relation to the Ottoman Empire. Besides Constantinople, Greece, Gallipoli, Buda, Bosnia, Timișoara (Demisvar) and other places, presented as direct Ottoman dominions in Europe, are also mentioned "three provinces or countries, Transylvania, Wallachia and Bogdania, where the Great Signor sends Christians with flag and named Voivode to govern those nations, and changes them when he pleases"⁵².

⁵⁰ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relatione dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Giacomo Soranzo Cavalier et Procurator, della seconda ambasceria di Constantinopoli, presentata adi 21 ottobre 1584, per il Magnifico Messer Giacomo Gerardo, segretario*, f. XI^r; see *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. II, pp. 209-253.

⁵¹ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relatione dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Giacomo Soranzo Cavalier et Procurator ...*, f. XIII^r-XIII^r.

⁵²ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 5, Costantinopoli, *Relazione del Clarissimo Signor Giovanni Francesco Morosini kavalier, ritornato bailo da Constantinopoli, letta nell'eccellentissimo Senato adi 1585*, f. 2^r; *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. III, p. 251-322; report fragmentarily published in Cr. Luca, *Conseamnări venețiene referitoare la Țările Române în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea*, in „*Studia Universitatis «Babeș-Bolyai»*. Series Historia”, XLIII, nr. 1-2, 1998, p. 19; idem, Cr. Luca, *Date privitoare la istoria românilor ...*, doc. II, p. 172.

In 1590, the bail Lorenzo Bernardo made the same kind of considerations on the extent of the Ottoman Empire, its tributary countries, its income, its administrative organization etc. The presentation of the neighbours of the huge State of the Sultans has a particular significance: "This Empire adjoins various princes, of varied and diverse religions and, from the shores of Dalmatia and Albania, it marches Your Serenity <i.e. borders Venice>, the Archduke Charles by means of Croatia, the Emperor by means of that part of Hungary possessed by him, the Kingdom of Poland, by means of Transylvania, Wallachia and Bogdania, with Moscow through the intercession of the Black Sea shores"⁵³. However, the status of certain "provinces" is still differentiated: "At present, the Sultan Amurat commands and dominates 40 provinces, in 38 of which he sends his slaves to government, with the title of Beglerbei or Pashas, and two are given for government to the Christians, who prove to come from the ancient rulers of those provinces, and these are Wallachia and Bogdania, which are given more for hire and enterprise than as feuds". And in the same place, he returns with further specifications: "Wallachia and Bogdania are two provinces given by the Great Signor <the Sultan> to the Christian princes of Greek nationality and they complete the number of 40 countries that His Grace commands"⁵⁴. Under the term "nation", confession with ethnicity are confusingly used, which was not unusual at the time. The following are said about Transylvania, which seemed ignored: "Besides these 40 provinces, His Grace still has so much great superiority in the country of Transylvania that one can say he is almost its patron, even if the country barons choose their <king>, they choose him according to the Great Signor's will, who sends his flag as a sign of acknowledgment and superiority, for which he pays high tribute, just as pays that part of this Kingdom of Hungary which is now possessed by the Emperor"⁵⁵. Therefore, Transylvania also appears as a country subject to the Emperor of Constantinople, in much the same way as Wallachia and Moldavia. About the Sultan's and the Ottoman administration's income it is stated that: from Hungary and Transylvania are obtained 45,000 thalers, besides about the same amount from the Emperor (for the part of Hungary he owns); from Transylvania come 15 thousand sequins, plus 5,000 in rods (bars) of gold and silver (20,000 in all), from Wallachia 60,000 per year, from Bogdania 34,000, 12,000 from Ragusa, plus many ordinary and extraordinary gifts, from Venice 1,500, given by the bailiff for Zante (of which 500 sequins are the old tribute paid by the island to the Christian emperor in

⁵³ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione di Constantinopoli del Bailo Lorenzo Bernardi 1590* (fără numerotare); also known is a *Relazione dell'Impero Ottomano di Lorenzo Bernardo, 1592*, published in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie III, vol. II, pp. 321-426.

⁵⁴ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione di Constantinopoli del Bailo Lorenzo Bernardi 1590* (not numbered).

⁵⁵*Ibidem*.

Constantinople, now received by his Ottoman successor; the extra thousand sequins represents the increase of the former subsidy, made on the occasion of the peace concluded after the last war with the Porte); “the Greek Patriarch paid 12,000 yearly and spent the same amount on gifts for His Highness <the Sultan> for the many goods taken from his nation, now degraded and poor, who has been deprived once, to make a mosque there, of its own Patriarchal headquarters, while the supreme dignity that is the Patriarchy was publicly made for sale to the highest bidder, as sealing of so many miseries and abominations made to that nation, not to say to the entire Christendom”⁵⁶. Further on, the bailiff presents the central government of the Empire, exercised by the sultan through nine Pashas, four of whom were residing at the Porte (in the capital), while five had foreign military and administrative tasks (in the territory): Siavuş⁵⁷ Pasha, of Croat nationality, Ibrahim⁵⁸, the second Pasha (and the Sultan’s son-in-law), of Ragusan nationality, Mehmet⁵⁹ (the Sultan’s brother-in-law), of Slavic nation, Sinan⁶⁰ Pasha, said Cicala/Cigala⁶¹, whom the great Ottoman leaders didn’t trust too much, because he was a noble blood Italian⁶².

Another report by Lorenzo Bernardo, written after the same second voyage to Constantinople, was made before the Board, on 8th May 1590. Here it is shown that the Sultan’s treasure received the “gifts” that used to be set (the tributes) and the voluntary ones (the actual gifts, the *rüşvet*, i.e. the formalized bribery), now more often and violently gathered, because the functions were easily put to auction, and “Bogdania”, “Wallachia”, the Greek Patriarchate, the function of Chancellor, of sea captain (*Kapudan-i Derya*) were given to the highest bidder, and, eventually, there was no dominion, task or authority that was not given for money and for no other reason than the larger amounts of money offered; it is also stated that the Sultan demanded in turn to the people from Ragusa, from “Bogdania” and from “Wallachia”, and even to those from Transylvania, very large donations (*grossissimi donativi*), under various excuses⁶³. “The Prince of Transylvania legitimizes his status from the Great Signor, because he receives from him his investiture with a flag, which is sent to him and is transmitted by succession; he pays a tribute of 10 thousand sequins a

⁵⁶*Ibidem*.

⁵⁷Kanijeli Siyavuş Paşa.

⁵⁸Damat İbrahim Paşa.

⁵⁹Mehmed Paşa.

⁶⁰Cıgalazade Yusuf Sinan Paşa.

⁶¹Son of viscount Vincenzo Cicala, impoverished nobleman of Genovese origin.

⁶²ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, *Relatione di Constantinopoli del Bailo Lorenzo Bernardi 1590* (not numbered).

⁶³ASV, Collegio V, Relazioni, b. 4, Costantinopoli, 1590 ai VIII Maggio, *Relatione del quondam clarissimo signor Lorenzo Bernardo, del secondo viaggio di Constantinopoli, presentata nell’Eccellentissimo Collegio a di sopradetto*, f. 20^r.

year and some silver bullions; but for some time now, the Turks change these conventions, so that last year they asked from him cloth (<for> tents), tallow and hemp for their military needs. And in the end they want to bring that province in the same situation as Bogdania and Wallachia, because they know that the province is rich and can pay a big enough tribute, since King Stephen Battori <Báthory>, when passed into Poland, leaving that principality, reserved from it 100 thousand thalers per year, which were taken to Poland to him, apart from the major revenues that remained to the prince, his successor in Transylvania; however, I believe that the Turks plan quickly, on the first occasion, to reduce that principality to the state of <Ottoman> province, in which to be able to change the government at their will, which they can easily do having their hands on Timișoara, which is the key to that country, where they could easily enter”⁶⁴. This expressive presentation of the situation of Transylvania is followed by revealing the status of Wallachia and Moldavia: “Wallachia and Bogdania, very fertile and large provinces, used a long while ago to have their own natural princes, who received their investiture from the Great Signor, being bound to pay tribute, Wallachia 63,000 ecus and Bogdania 31,500 per year. Today they are reduced as if they were contracted, being put to auction and given to the highest bidder, with no respect for the princes’ ancient blood; so that they were sold, by those taking one of them to rule, for 400 thousand thalers and more, which they pledged to give to the Great Signor and, furthermore, to various officials. And <the rulers> remain in that principality until another one appears offering more, to the total ruin and despair of those peoples, who are thus destroyed and devastated. And yet, the Great Signor leaves the country in the lurch and gathers in this way much more benefits than if he governed it with Beglerbei or with Pashas”⁶⁵.

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* *

As we can see, the Venetian institutions or the responsible factors of the Serenissima were regularly informed in detail on the situation in the Ottoman Empire. Most reports clearly distinguish between the countries (provinces) directly occupied by the Sultan and those tributary to him, governed by Christian princes. Often, the tributary countries are not even comprised within the borders of the Ottoman Empire itself, but are in its immediate vicinity. Almost invariably, Wallachia, Moldavia (“Bogdania”) and Transylvania are mentioned one after the other and together, as having the same status of Christian countries dependent on the Ottomans. Their tribute is differential: usually, Wallachia appears with higher amounts, Moldavia with medium amounts, and Transylvania with the smallest

⁶⁴*Ibidem*, f. 55^v-56^r.

⁶⁵*Ibidem*, f. 56^r-56^v.

amounts. These three tributary countries are perceived and treated together with Ragusa, with the Holy Roman Emperor and with Venice, all of them paying annual tributes – of different sizes – to the Sultan. Noticeable are also certain echoes of the treaties (conventions) regulating the relations between these countries and the Ottoman Empire. It is not irrelevant to the collective memory that the Romanian countries and Hungary – in difficulty at that time – had previously been fierce anti-Ottoman fighters and even then they were waiting for the right opportunity to rebel, as would happen in the autumn of 1594, in Bucharest, under the reign of Prince Michael the Brave, who was then involved in the Long War (1591-1606), led by the Habsburg Emperor and the Papacy. It is also to be noted the emphasis on the large number of Christians (two thirds of the entire population) directly occupied or just tributaries to the Ottoman Empire, some ruled straight by Pashas (as it was in Buda, after 1541, or in Timișoara, after 1552), others by their Christian princes. The reports also repeatedly emphasize the Christian origin (Albanian, Croatian, Slavic, Hungarian, Italian) of certain Ottoman high dignitaries with the rank of Pasha. That must have had its importance, since they, although Islamized, are depicted with their real ethnic ancestry. At the same time, some reports distinguish between the part of Hungary occupied by the Sultan (i.e. the Pashalic of Buda), and the part of this country occupied by the Habsburg Emperor, for which the latter paid an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats to the Sultan. Besides the tribute are mentioned the military obligations (the rule to send, for example, from Wallachia and Moldavia, 10,000 riders each, upon request), the gifts for the Sultan and the Ottoman officials (amounting to about half of the tribute), the sums for the confirmation of the rulers, other goods claimed occasionally a.s.o. Interesting are the references to the (former) wealth and prosperity of the Romanian Countries, to their gold and iron, to their other possessions which were proverbial. By contrast, a few times is mentioned the disastrous situation in which they had been brought, at the end of the sixteenth century, by the Ottoman despoilment. Interesting is also the highlighting of the widespread corruption that prevailed in the Empire and led to the sale of all public functions, not just of those coveted by the Christians (the quality of Prince of Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, the Patriarchate of Constantinople), but also of the internal Ottoman ones, according to the principle of the “highest bidder”. Together with the intention of occupying Transylvania directly and placing a Pasha at its head, as in Timișoara, the advantage of the indirect rule is also pondered by revealing the higher income extorted from the countries governed by Christians.

The accounts reveal quite often a reverential attitude towards the Sultan, named with the same honorary titles as the Christian princes. Also, in certain situations, the rapporteurs – especially the bailiffs – emphasize a certain continuity between the “Roman”, that is Byzantine Emperors, in other words the ancient Christians (before 1453) and the new Ottoman Emperors, from their titles

and their attributions to the subsidies paid by certain political entities to Constantinople, both before and after 1453. The same idea is conveyed by repeatedly mentioning the tributary status of the Western Christian Emperor (the sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire) to the very powerful Muslim Emperor from Constantine the Great's city, as well as of the fact that Hungary, once the Christian Emperor's feud, was now mostly under the Sultan's control. This attitude also stems from the urge of the Serenissima – itself tributary to the Porte for the Zante Island – to collaborate with the Porte, in the context of its capital economic interests in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea. Naturally, this realistic attitude of Venice cannot stop its responsible factors – at least on a declarative propagandistic level – to condemn the Ottoman expansion, the oppression of Christians by the Porte and to call for resistance.

The Venetian reports also reveal other multiple aspects of the Ottoman world and the realities that gravitated around it, from the rebellions that broke out from time to time in the subjected, threatened or tributary countries to punishment or conquest campaigns organized by the Sultans and the Pashas. Venice had two major concerns related to the expansion and strengthening of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. The first one aimed at the oppression, restriction and control of its trade in the Levantine area by the Ottomans, which led to very big material losses, hitting the very *raison d'être* of the Serenissima. The second one consisted in expanding the borders of the Empire to the North-Eastern Italy, towards Friuli and Istria, by occupying the former dominions of the Doges' Republic on the coast of Dalmatia and Slavonia. Looking at things globally, planetarily, the Venetians observers noted the dangerous path for Christianity taken by the Ottoman Empire, i.e. to become a "universal monarchy", causing difficulty to estimate "evil". These existing or foreshadowed huge "evils" determined a vigilant policy, based on pondered decisions in which the correct information was essential. Therefore, the bailiffs, vicebailiffs, merchants, paid spies etc. were instrumental in establishing the Venetian policy towards the Porte, through the data they provided. These data were received in formal and informal frameworks, they were analysed, compared and placed at the basis of fundamental decisions for the existence of the Lagoon State. They substantially helped to extend for two more centuries the life of the Doges' Republic, wiped off the map not by the Ottomans, but by Napoleon in 1797.

A FALSE THEORY STILL PERSISTS AT THE EASTERN BORDER OF LATINITY

Ion EREMIA*

Abstract. *The author presents several false theories of the Russian and Soviet historiographies, theories that sustain the Slavic origin of the Dacians and also of the contemporary Moldavians. All these theories were meant to legitimise Tsarist and Soviet expansionist policies, but they continue to exist today, when the so-called “Moldavianists” seek to prove that Moldavians are a people different from Romanians.*

Keywords: *Oriental Latinity, Geto-Dacians, Slavs, Russian historiography, “Moldavianists”.*

The evolution of the Eastern part of the Oriental Latinity: the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic space, in broad terms, and the territory between Dniester and Prut rivers in the narrow sense, went through at least two big stages which left traces, visible to this day.

The issue we are faced with is to determine where and when the attack on the foundations of Oriental Latinity began, i.e. when did appear the tendency to assimilate the Romanians' ancestors, the Geto-Dacians with the Slavs, to minimize the role of the Romanization, to consider the inhabitants of the area between Dniester and Prut as having a different ethnicity than Romanian?

Generally, the first stage is thought to have stretched until the formation of the Romanian medieval states, while the second stage goes further than the formation of the independent Romanian states in the 14th century.

The first stage was characterized by numerous invasions of Eurasia migrants, who crossed these regions and held them under their political control until the middle of the 14th century. At this stage, we can speak of brutal military attacks on the Oriental Latinity and mass destructions. In 376, the Huns compelled the western Goths, who had political control, to withdraw into Thrace. But later, after Attila's death in 453 and the unsuccessful attempt of 469 to strengthen Thrace, the Huns' political power declined.

Special attention is drawn to the entry of the Slavs in the space from the North of the Danube. The old Slavs, according to a well-defined view in the

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historical literature, appeared in the Eastern Carpathian space in the late 5th century, but mostly in the middle of the next century. They didn't stay there long, and in the early 7th century (602), they massively crossed to the South of the Danube. The second wave of Slavs, the Eastern Slavs, appeared in the Western regions of Dniester, especially between the Dniester and Răut rivers linked to the establishment of the ancient Russian knezates.

A central idea of the Soviet historiography, faithfully continued by the contemporary Russian historiography, is that the Eastern Carpathian territory was a part of the old Russian knezates of Kiev and Halych - Volânian. However, it is worth mentioning that the Ukrainian historian V. Râcika's researches have proved that there can be no political control exerted by the knezes of Kiev¹. At the same time, another Ukrainian historian, N. Kotlear, demonstrated that the knezate of Halych-Volânian did not politically control the Eastern Carpathian space either². But these conclusions are nowadays practically neglected by the historians in Russia and Ukraine. It is characteristic the fact that none of the subsequent historians tried to demolish the validity of the arguments raised by the historians invoked. They are simply neglected³.

After a short stay of the Magyar tribes in the region known as Atelkuza, which also included areas from the West of Dniester⁴, they were replaced by the Pechenegs, the "Uzi" and the Cumans, (during the 9th-13th centuries). The Tatars politically controlled the Eastern Carpathian regions starting with the mid-13th century until the forties in the 14th century, and the territory between the Dniester and Prut rivers, until about 1369-1370. Thereafter, but not later than 1381, the territory passed under the control of the Moldavian rulers.

The valorisation of these territories by the authorities of the new state is signalled by an ancient historical source, *Lista orașelor rusești, apropiate și îndepărtate* (*The List of Near and Remote Russian cities*), drawn, according to the researches of V. L. Ianin⁵ in the last decade of the twentieth century, not later than 1381, a *List*⁶ mentioning the cities of Colomeea, The City on Ceremuș,

¹ В.М. Рычка, Формирование территории Киевской земли (IX - первая треть XII в.), Издательство Наукова думка, Киев, 1988.

² Н. Ф. Котляр, Формирование территории и возникновение городов Галицко-Волынской Руси IX–XIII вв., Издательство Наукова думка, Киев, 1985.

³ See: А.В. Майоров, Галицко-Волынская Русь. Очерки социально-политических отношений в домонгольский период. Князь, бояре и городская община. Под ред. И.Фроянова. Издательство Университетская книга, СПб., 2001.

⁴ See: Константин Багрянородный, Об управлении империей, Глава 38, О родословной народа турок и о том, откуда они происходят http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus11/Konst_Bagr_2/text38.phtml?id=6397 (accessed on May 20, 2013) and reference 13 to this chapter.

⁵ В.Л. Янин, Новгород и Литва: пограничные ситуации XIII-XV веков, Издательство МГУ, Москва, 1998, с. 67.

⁶ The complete list for the territory in question: "На Дунай, Видычев град, о седми стенах каменных, Мдин. И об ону страну Дунаа. Тернов, ту лежить святаа Пятница. А по Дунаю,

Tețina, Hotin, Cetatea Albă and Cern, the last one located on the Dniester's mouths, on the left shore of the river, as cities belonging to the principality of Moldavia.

Thus, towards the beginning of the penultimate decade of the 14th century, the political boundary of the Oriental Latinity is set on the Dniester River, with a significant bridgehead, the fortress-city of Cern, beyond the Dniester, subsequently lost under totally unknown circumstances. Let me emphasize, this was only the political border, as the Dniester was never the ethnic border of the Oriental Latinity, or, over the centuries, a certain amount of the Romanian population from Moldavia, Wallachia or the regions South of the Danube permanently crossed over to the regions East of the Dniester.

The indissoluble relation of the indigenous inhabitants of the Principality of Moldavia with the Latin, Roman world was demonstrated in detail by the most prominent Moldavian scholars: Grigore Ureche, Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir, etc. Acknowledging the ethnic and linguistic mix with other peoples, the Moldavian scholars pointed out the inhabitants' Latin ethnicity, as well as the Latin origin of the Romanian language, a conclusion also shared by medieval foreign scholars.

But the changes in the geopolitical situation of the Principality of Moldavia, especially concerning the politics of the Tsarist Russia in South-East Europe, led to other interpretations of this issue, especially by historians interested directly in "arguing" the expansionist policy of their countries of origin.

Here we would like to point out first the necessity to take into account that, addressing Orthodox Russia for help and "obedience", the Moldavian political elite had never substituted the religious ideals for the state and national ideals. Getting help from Orthodox Russia did not mean that the latter didn't have to meet the country's national interests. Quite eloquent in this respect are the provisions of the treaty project of May 1656 and the Treaty of June 1711 on the territorial reunification of Moldavia, i.e. the territories conquered by the Ottomans and Tatars which were to be returned to Moldavia.

This trend is also visible in the second half of the 18th century. On April 18, 1770, the Moldavian boyars and clergy addressed Catherine II requesting the Russian army to continue the fight against the common enemy, and the boyars requested especially that the city of Bender be taken from Ottoman rule, as the city stood as "an unhealed wound on Moldavia's shoulders". The boyars also

Дрествин. Дичин. Килиа. А на усть Дунаа, Новое село. Аколякра. На море, Карна. Каварна. А на сей стороне Дунаа. На усть Днестра над морем, Бельгород. Черн, Ясьскый торг на Пруте реце. Романов торг на Молдове. Немечъ в горах. Корочюнов камен. Сочява. Серет. Бая. Чечюнь. Коломыя. Городок на Черемоше. На Днестре Хотень. А се болгарскый и волоскый гради" (М.Н. Тихомиров, Список русских городов дальних и ближних, in Русское летописание, Издательство Наука, Москва, 1979, с. 94).

wrote that when the Russian troops would conquer the places between Dniester and Danube, in other words, the Bugeac, Moldavian since ancient times, it should not be placed under a special rule, but to be returned to the Principality of Moldavia⁷.

Among the historians who started contesting the Latin origin of the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, we would firstly indicate the Russian historian V.N. Tatishchev (1686-1750), who reached some startling conclusions. If, prior to his work, Russia's expansionist policy towards South-Eastern Europe was marked only by the idea of Christendom, referring to Herodotus (about 484 BC - about 425 BC), who indicated that the Getae lived on the Danube and had the same language as the Thracians, Tatishchev stated that Strabo (about 64/63 B.C. - ca. 23/24 A.D.) considered them Slavs, whence originated another people, the "Ieneti". Hence, the Russian historian's final conclusion: "therefore, the Getae, the Dacians and the "Ieneti" were Slavs" and, as for kinship, they differ greatly from the Goths⁸. Yes, they were different from the Goths, but this hardly means that they were Slavs.

Obviously, we are faced with a classic example of distorting the historical source, as Strabo had had no knowledge of the Slavs yet and neither did he mention them in his *Geography*. Moreover, Tatishchev's idea rooted in the research field, being present even nowadays, also due to the fact that his works are posted on the Internet, not only among historical studies.

Thus, through his *History*, Tatishchev is one of the first historians in Russia who fundamentals the imperial idea, the essence of which is that Russia does not conquer anything, it only regains the territories previously inhabited by Slavs, which, under unfavourable historical conditions, were lost by them.

The same idea on the Dacians' Slavic origin can be found with the Serb activists from the early 19th century. For example, in a study from 1823, Sava Tekelija (1761-1842) called the Dacians Serbs and Slavs.

But the Russian Empire also saw the appearance of studies of a different nature. For example, Iacov Ghinculov, a Romanian from Ovidiopol, born around 1800-1807, with studies at the Theological Seminary in Chişinău, wrote *Начертание правил валахо-молдавской грамматики*. The author's fundamental ideas were the following: the language spoken in Moldavia and Wallachia is Romanian; up to the formation of the Principality of Moldavia, the inhabitants of both principalities were known under the joint name of Romanians; the Romanian language can serve as a common basis for both dialects, the Moldavian and the Wallachian ones; Romanian language is a branch of the Latin

⁷ Россия и освободительная борьба молдавского народа против османского ига. 1769-1812, Издательство Ştiinţa, Кишинев, 1984, с. 41-42.

⁸ В.Н. Татищев, История Российская, Часть первая, <http://www.magister.msk.ru/library/history/tatish/tatis023.htm> (accessed on April 18, 2013)

language⁹. Such views were not promoted in the Russian Empire, but the opinions of those who declared the Romanians as being Slavic and the Romanian language a Slavic language.

From the religious point of view, the Oriental Latinity was Orthodox, of the same religion as Russia, but the slogan of liberating the Orthodox Christians by the latter gradually changed. Those who, in one way or another, acknowledged the Latinity of the Romanian people and language made use of other “arguments” to prove that Oriental Latinity prevented the Slavs’ union. Orthodox Oriental Latinity was regarded as something undesired in the Slavic body. For example, in 1877 N. Danilevsky wrote that independent Romania can be a wedge (knife) in the Slavic body and that it could continue both in time and space, its role harmful to the Slavs. But it also loomed the possibility that Romania might be a bridge linking the North-Eastern Slavs to the South-Eastern ones. However, according to the author, for this second purpose, Russia had to return to Bessarabia, that is, to the South of the region between the Dniester and the Prut, retroceded to the Porte through the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856, or Romania had to make a close and inseparable alliance with Russia. In the author’s view, and perhaps in that of the Russian political class of the time, Romania’s neutrality would have been very detrimental to the interests of Russia and the Slavs, neutrality would have meant a wall, a fortress built between the two sides of the Slavs, a fortress guarded by the united forces of all Europe¹⁰.

Another personality of the time, the Slavophile (others deny he was a Slavophile) Konstantin Leontiev (1831-1891) stated: “Romania, less than other peoples of the East, closer to Russia by kinship, language and its Western claims, from the social point of view, more than these people, reminds of Russia”¹¹. The same author stops at the rumours concerning the recognition of Dobrudja as part of Romania (1878). He expresses outrage over the pro-French orientation and the secularization of the monasteries, both linked to the name of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, and as a result, he believes, Romania became something neither Oriental nor Occidental, something white, wide, neat enough, but desolate, boring, without character. K. Leontiev also refers to a newspaper article of P. Tolstoy, whom he generally appreciates highly and from who borrows certain considerations on the Romanians. Among them:

- The Romanians are a semi-Roman, anti-Slavic and foreign element in the way of our communication with the Slavs.

⁹ Я. Д. Гинкулов, Начертание правил валахо-молдавской грамматики. В типографии Императорской Академии Наук, СПб., 1840, с. I-V.

¹⁰ Н. Данилевский, „Война за Болгарию. Чего мы вправе благоразумно желать от исхода настоящей войны”, in Русский мир, 1877, 2 авг. № 207.

¹¹ Константин Леонтьев, Плоды национальных движений на православном Востоке. http://knleontiev.narod.ru/texts/plody_na_vostoke.htm (accessed on March 10, 2013).

- the Romanians take pride not in the fact that they are Orthodox or simply Romanian, but, primarily, in that they are a Roman element, they are drawn to the West.

- They even changed their Slavic alphabet with the Latin one, and their morals (character) hold nothing we would enjoy as we rejoice when we refer to the Montenegrins, Bulgarians, etc.

- Bulgarians are more serious than Romanians.

- Bulgarians are more Orthodox than Romanians.

Ending his “reasoning”, he concludes that Dobrudja should be given to Bulgaria. “The Romanians should be taken into account”, he went on, “we should help them, be friends with them, but”, he was wondering at the same time, “why should we sacrifice the Bulgarians, Russians and Muslims from Dobrudja for them? In the name of the reconciliation with the Church, it would be better to give 500,000 Bulgarians to the Greeks than 16,000 Bulgarians (as Dobrudja then held – I.E.) to the French-like Moldavian-Vlachs (офранцузенным), who represent nothing in the midst of Oriental Christians”¹².

This state of hatred towards Latinity also directly reflected on Bessarabia, where Archbishop Pavel Lebedev was sent to promote a harsh policy of Russification of the church, closing down Moldavian churches, reading the liturgy in Russian etc.¹³, facts reported by the Russian publicist N.N. Durnovo, disliked by the Russian circles of the time as well as those in the present.

The 1918 changes in the political map of Europe by the Country’s Council decision to unite Bessarabia with Romania led, along with the proletarian statement of spreading the Socialist revolution in the Balkans, to the recovery of the imperial idea about the Dacians’ Slavism.

The idea is later used by Konstantin N. Derzhavin, freshly graduated from the Roman-Germanic languages Department of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Leningrad. His article, “*Who are the Moldavians?*” had an aggressive and exaggerated political tinge – according to him, the MASSR formation in October 1924 “was the first swallow of the forthcoming release of the entire Moldavia (Bessarabia) from the power of the Romanian bourgeoisie”. The author remarked that the Moldavians of Bessarabia and MASSR spoke the same language, being one and the same people, “now artificially divided by the barrier of the state border”. This is how the issue was dealt with!!!! So then, the author pointed out the ethnic and linguistic unity of the inhabitants of the two sides of Dniester but he said nothing regarding the ethnic and linguistic community of the residents on both sides of the Prut. This way of seeing things was characteristic of the entire subsequent Soviet historiography.

¹² Константин Леонтьев, Территориальные отношения http://knleontiev.narod.ru/texts/terr_otonshenia.htm (accessed on March 9, 2013).

¹³ Н.Н. Дурново, Русская панславистская политика на православном Востоке и в России. Тип. «Русская печатня», Арбат, д. Толстого. М.: 1908 г. http://www.krotov.info/libr_min/05_d/ur/novo2.htm (accessed on February 11, 2013).

Just recently, in 2006, an author, Avraam Shmulevich, brought more data, which, in his opinion, demonstrated the special historical evolution of the two shores of the Dniester, concluding that “both shores were merged into a single whole by Stalin’s decision”¹⁴. The rest, i.e. the “argumentation”, was made by Soviet historians.

Derzhavin’s statements, presented above, are followed by two questions.

The first one: Who are these Moldavians?

The second one: How did they come to us, to the current MASSR and to Bessarabia?

After an anti-Romanian tirade, the author reached the conclusion that “only Moldavians do not identify themselves with Romanians” and that “the word Romanian doesn’t even exist in their language”, the term in question being of a very late origin. The author did not directly tell us the name of their language, he merely mentioned that the Romanian science, which legitimized the expansionist policy of its bourgeoisie, stated that Moldavians were a branch of the Romanians, arguing this only by the fact that Moldavians speak Romanian. The author objected not to the fact that Moldavians speak Romanian, but to the idea that this argument was not enough to classify the Moldavians as a branch of Romanians. Referring to the name “Moldavians”, the author believed that it might mean “the son of the mountains” – used for the Dacians who had retreated into the mountains, he thought. For the same people, wrote Derzhavin, there was also the term “Highlander”, while Romanians are Vlachs-Italians¹⁵.

In 1940, when Bessarabia was annexed by the USSR, it was, obviously, necessary to “argue” once more this action of the Soviet state in “scientific” terms. This time, Nicolai S. Derzhavin, father of the author we have already mentioned above, published a study entitled *The Origin of the Moldavian People*¹⁶.

His son’s article analyzed above, *Who are the Moldavians?*, was described as “comprehensive”, being the first in Russian and Soviet science to provide a completely satisfactory answer for his time, an answer requiring in 1940 only some partial explanations, according to the author.

Which are these partial explanations?

1) According to the mentioned author, until the conquest of Dacia by the Romans, the bulk of the population of ancient Dacia consisted of tribes which

¹⁴ Авраам Шмудевич, Приднестровье. История земли <http://www.apn.ru/publications/article10565.htm> (accessed on May 10, 2013).

¹⁵ К.Н. Державин, Кто такие молдаване? in Вестник знания, №7, 1925, <http://www.bolesmir.ru/index.php?content=text&name=o422&gl=createfirst> (accessed on April 15, 2013).

¹⁶ Н.С. Державин. Происхождение молдавского народа, 1940, in Советская наука, 1940, №12

http://kirsoft.com.ru/mir/KSNews_311.htm; http://history-fiction.ru/books/all_1/region_96_1/book_2833/, (accessed on April 15, 2013).

had managed by that time to get organized and form a Slavic linguistic and ethnographic typology.

2) By the late sixth century, according to irrefutable historical data, the entire Dacia Traiana, that is both Moldavia and Bessarabia, was inhabited by Slavs, hence the late tradition, recorded by the chronicler of Kiev in the 12th century, that Dacia had apparently been the ancient homeland of the Slavs.

3) According to the *Chronicle of Kiev*, the oldest population of the Southern regions of current Bessarabia and Moldavia were the Slavic Ulics with their main fortified centre, the town of Peresecin, now, i.e. in 1940, the village Peresecina (Orhei County) in Bessarabia.

4) Towards the 10th century, the entire territory of Bessarabia and Moldavia to the Danube was populated by Slavic Russians, united under the power of the Kiev Knez.

5) Since the mid-9th century, the territorial location of the Eastern Slavic tribes had changed due to the Eastern nomads' arrival: the Hungarians in the late 9th century, the Pechenegs in the 10th century and the Cumans in the 11th century. Under the pressure of these nomads, the Ulics and the Tivertsy, who had previously lived between the Dniester and the Danube to the Black Sea, partly moved to the North and occupied the North-Western districts of Bessarabian Moldavia.

By virtue of this fact, the author continued, we can assume that the Moldavian type bears in himself the signs of the tribal crossing (at the level of tribes, as an organization form of this population) between the local, indigenous Slavic population, and the Eastern nomads, in a greater extent than the Ukrainian population in the Northern districts of Bessarabia and Bukovina.

So, concluded Derzhavin, we have all the necessary data to state that the contemporary Moldavian people is based on the cultural ethnographic element of the Eastern Slavs, and before the formation of the Slavic ethnographic type – the local proto-Slavic substrate, common both to the Moldavian and the Ukrainian peoples, thus justifying, in his opinion, the shared ancient cultural legacy, which emerges both in the material culture as well as in the folklore, ethnography and language of the Moldavians and Ukrainians.

6) The Moldavians, who nowadays live in the East of Romania and on the territory of the Moldavian SSR, that is on the territories that have never known the Roman colonization, ethnographically speaking, are the direct descendants of the indigenous local Slavic population, which was subjected, during the 9th century, to the influence of the Eastern nomads: the Hungarians, the Pechenegs, the Cumans, etc.

7) Romanians are twelfth and thirteenth centuries' immigrants from the Balkans, who settled on the territory of Wallachia and subsequently spread throughout Moldavia.

Both the "study" published in 1925 and the one of 1940 were, actually, party directives, which were to guide the historians to make all the efforts to

demonstrate their validity. The climax of these efforts was marked by the writings of two authors, N. Mohov and A. Lazarev. The first tried, in vain, to prove the formation process of a Moldavian people distinct from the Romanian one, the latter marched on the problem of the reunification of the “Moldavian people” from the two sides of Dniester: “let’s get over with this artificial dismantling of the Moldavian people and restore the unity of the Moldavian people, the unity of its national territory”, declared Lazarev. According to him, the prehistory of the Bessarabian issue began in the last third of the 19th century¹⁷.

What does A. Lazarev write about 1812? “In 1812, the Eastern part of Moldavia, meaning the territory between the Dniester and the Prut, joined the Russian Empire”¹⁸.

Of course, in this case, A. Lazarev did not question the issue of the two shores of the river Prut. He addressed the issue in a totally different sense, namely in the sense of justifying the act of 1812. Yes, he said, in 1812 the Moldavian people and their country were divided into two parts, in fact in three, because in 1774 Bukovina was occupied by Austria. But, he continued, 1812 led to a different fate for the two parts of the same people. The East of Moldavia, becoming a part of Russia, met better conditions for development and there was formed, at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century, the Moldavian bourgeois nation, the Moldavian Socialist nation after October 1917, and the Soviet national state of the Moldavian people was established¹⁹.

The forgery is more than obvious. In the Eastern part of Moldavia “the Soviet national state” was not “created” until 1940, and in 1924 the Soviet national state of the Moldavians was created only on a small area from the left shore of the Dniester, a territory which was never the “Eastern part” of the historical Moldavia.

In other words, the author’s purpose was to “prove” the bond between the territory between Dniester and Prut and the space from the East of the Dniester.

Not coincidentally do I insist on these things: today the situation remains the same. Today’s “Moldavianists” from the Republic of Moldavia operate basically with the same concepts and reach the same conclusions. And they are not the only ones. I will provide just a few examples for it.

The first example is V.L. Mahnach, principal scientific assistant (collaborator) at the Institute for National Development of the Academy of Sciences of Russia, considered one of L.N. Gumiliov’s “Moscow students”²⁰. He

¹⁷ А.М. Лазарев, Молдавская Советская государственность и бессарабский вопрос, Издательство Картя Молдовеняскэ, Кишинев, 1974, с. 570

¹⁸ А.М. Лазарев, Молдавская Советская государственность и бессарабский вопрос, Издательство Картя Молдовеняскэ, Кишинев, 1974, с. 529.

¹⁹ А.М. Лазарев, Молдавская Советская государственность и бессарабский вопрос, Издательство Картя Молдовеняскэ, Кишинев, 1974, с. 532-533

²⁰ See: В. Н. Дёмин, Лев Гумилёв, Издательство Молодая гвардия, Москва, 2008.

was characterized as: a Russian historian and Orthodox man of the Enlightenment, a historian of the Russian architecture, a political philosopher, a Russian Orthodox imperial publicist. It seems that the last assessment suits him entirely, if we examine one of his last writings titled *Древние молдаване писали по-славянски*²¹.

Even in the first sentence, the author declares: “the ancestors of the Russians and Moldavians are, in reality, close relatives, and the separation of these nations does not allow a common faith either”. His next paragraph proves the author’s very superficial knowledge about Moldavia: “Today’s Moldavia, the same one which until recently was Bessarabia, Gubernia of the Russian Empire, is limited by the sea, the Dniester, the Prut and the Danube”. Referring to the inhabitants of these regions, the first ones known in the 7th and 8th centuries before Christ were the Scythians, who were driven Eastward by the Dacians. The latter were usually considered Thracians, but many consider the Russians as being Thracian as well. Hence the author’s bizarre conclusion: “our remote ancestors, those of contemporary Russians and Moldavians, are close relatives”. Dacia was conquered by the Romans for a short time, but not throughout the whole of Moldavia. Following the great migration of peoples, here settled the Antes, an Eastern Slavic people, who drove the Dacians to the West, across the Danube. Enumerating other migratory peoples who crossed the territory of Moldavia, the author concluded: “the nomads needed the steppes, and in the thriving parts of Moldavia the Slavic population, the Ulichs and the Tivertsi continued to live peacefully”. Strange as it may seem, but the direct ancestors of the current Moldavians were not detected there. The direct ancestors and the immediate carriers of the “Moldavian language”, according to the author, appear in Moldova later than the Slavs, not before the 10th century, but rather in the 11th century and they were named differently – “Ramei” or Romans.

Where did they come from? – asks the author. From the mountains, the immediate response follows, and it was due to the weakening of the nomads’ pressure. As highlanders, they represented a less numerous population. However, further on the author writes that the Moldavians descended from the mountains and by virtue of their number they assimilated the Slavs. Obviously, these Moldavians-Highlanders, descendants of the Romanized Dacians, borrowed the Byzantine culture from the Slavs, and when the writing became necessary they also borrowed it from the Slavs, the first Moldavian chronicles were written in Slavonic – generally the Moldavians would have Slavicized completely, but in the meantime the Slavs’ power weakened. Compared to the Romanians, the Moldavians are quite significantly different in language and culture. Referring to what happened as a result of the Russo-Turkish wars, the author writes that “the

²¹ В. Л. Махнач, *Древние молдаване писали по-славянски*, http://www.zlev.ru/25_26.htm (accessed on May 15, 2013).

Gubernia of Bessarabia was formed between the Dniester and the Danube: one may say that the situation has returned to the existing one in the region during the late antiquity, in Early Medieval Times”.

The author knows even how the “Transnistrian issue” appeared: after World War I, the Romanian authorities, with the approval of the European states, received Bessarabia, taking even a piece of land over the Dniester River, from then on the “Transnistrian issue” appears in the history. Not only Transnistria, writes V. Mahnaci, but the entire Moldavia is a part of the Russian State! As a result, it is not illogical to ask that these lands should return to the Russians. The above statements illustrate in all their splendour the author’s ignorance and imperial mindset.

The second example is the information posted on Lyudmila Nesterova-Marcenko’s blog on May 2, 2011, entitled *Молдаване-славяне...*²², recording the discussion from a birthday party: Without any malice, someone, writes the author, tells a joke about Moldavians. Followed by another one... In this context, a young man says “My grandfather was Moldavian”. To appease the situation, she claims, Mrs. Ludmila Nesterova-Marcenko asked, “*What language group is the Moldavian language assigned to?*” And she received the reply from the young man (a second year student at the European University in Kiev), the grandson of the Moldavian grandfather: “*To the Slavic language group.*”

“My brain froze for a moment”, the lady declared pompously, “because once I had clearly stored the information that the Moldavian language refers to the Roman language group”. To this, the young man reportedly said, “No, the Moldavian, Ukrainian and Belarusian are Slavic languages, and Russian, in general, is nothing. The Russians also came from the Ukrainians”.

The author returns with some pretty tough questions:

Who is fooling today’s youth?

Who is telling them such nonsense?

What will become of them?

Perhaps these are the young people who will start fighting against the Russians Slavs who are, in their opinion, nothing?

And she concludes: “I’m looking at this young man, who is absolutely not ready to accept a different piece of information”.

The questions can go on. This time, towards the author. But just as tough.

Who fooled the blog author?

Who put such nonsense in her head?

We know, we can answer them, the Soviet school and propaganda.

I am not asking here what will become of her, but, as we can very well see, rather what are the consequences of this dupery? Like the young man she speaks of, she is also not able to accept a new piece of information – that there is

²² <http://lindanester.blogspot.com/2011/05/1.html> (accessed on March 30, 2013)

only one language, Romanian, and, ultimately she sustains at the expense of the truth those who say that the inhabitants of the Republic of Moldavia speak a language other than the one spoken in Romania. But, you see, in her head “was clearly stored the information that Moldavian language relates to the Roman linguistic group”.

And perhaps another example, clinical, I would say... A certain I.H. posted on the INTERNET on May 12, 2012 a material (in Russian) entitled *Romanians - Who Are They?*²³. And answered. The Romanians are the occupiers and the ones who had Romanianized the Slavs: the Dacians, the Volochs, i.e. the Russians from the Volga... Other “brilliant” ideas of his: today is going on the de-Moldovenizing of the Moldavians, they are deprived of the right of possessing the Russian language, their historical native language, genetically, the Moldavians and the Romanians are different, fact that proves their different origins, the Romanians are dark-haired, the Moldavians are blond, the Dacians were Slavs, they spoke Russian, the Volochs were also Slavs. The Moldavians are also Volochs, i.e. from the Volga.

In conclusion to the above, it can be said that some of the “scientific” explanations of the Russian and Soviet authors concerning the Oriental Latinity are based on the political factor. Characteristic are the diminishing of Latinity and the emphasis of the Slavic character, even by brutal falsification of the historical processes: the inhabitants of contemporary Romania and Moldavia are the Dacian Slavs or the Slavic Dacians. There is a permanent emphasis on the idea that historically, the Moldavians, starting with their distant ancestors, the Dacians, were closely connected not to the West, but to the East and that Moldavia is a part of the Russian history.

²³ <http://www.hariuk.info/Article/RomaniansWhoTheyAre.html> (accessed on April 3, 2013)

FROM CENTRE TO THE PERIPHERY AND THE OTHER WAY ROUND

Delia-Maria RADU*

Abstract. *The concepts of centre and periphery are powerful symbols of the imagination, reflected in historical and travel writings which generally belong to people situated at the “centre”, who judge things according to their norms or ideas. Travel writings to Romanian principalities present them as barbaric, behind the times, different. But gradually, both these writings and those produced by travellers going the opposite way, from the ‘periphery’ of Europe towards its Enlightened centre, reflect their process of Europeanization.*

Keywords: *Wallachians, Moldavians, Europeanness, 18th and 19th century, travellers’ reflections.*

Talking about the concept of centre and periphery, the Romanian professor and historian Lucian Boia considers it one of the most powerful symbols of the imagination: the centre of the world – he states – is the realm of normality, the point from which the whole Universe is seen and judged. In time, the great civilizations, the Empires, managed to push the others towards the periphery, placing themselves in the centre of creation and history. Thus, most of the written sources available to historians are the expression of dominant civilizations. They are sources produced in the “centre of the world”, or in various such centres. Yet, they cover not only the central space, but also the periphery, a periphery which, until quite recently, has too scarcely expressed itself. The history of a large part of the world was reconstituted using “sources” made in other places, following an inevitably positioned, ideological, altered foreign discourse¹.

In the eighteenth century, Western Europe invented Eastern Europe² as its complementary, uncivilized, “barbaric” counterpart. Located in Europe, but not fully European, Eastern Europe was unknown to the point of allowing to be

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¹ Lucian Boia, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarului*, traducere din franceză de Tatiana Mochi, București, Humanitas, 2000, pp. 122-123.

² See Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, C.A., 1994, p. 4.

freely constructed by imagination by some travellers crossing its lands, who wrote their experiences and published them, to the joy of Enlightenment readers.

The division of Europe between *the South*, especially Italy, seen as a centre of arts and learning, and *the North*, perceived as barbarian, was replaced during the Enlightenment by that between the Western, Occidental Europe, and the Eastern, Oriental Europe, by the distinction between “well-known” European countries and “little-known” ones from scientific and geographical point of view, a distinction corresponding to a cultural difference between these two parts of Europe and to the interest of the 18th century travellers for the Oriental Europe, culturally and socially behind the times compared to the Occidental norms. In their travel accounts or in their letters, the Occidental travellers through these unknown Eastern lands were making, by associations and comparisons with the “civilized” countries, a mental map of this part of Europe³, the map of those dominant civilizations Boia was speaking about.

In 1762, James Porter, the British ambassador in Constantinople since 1764, gave up his position and returned to England through Bulgaria, Moldavia and Poland. He was accompanied by his wife, his two children and Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich, a Jesuit priest, a distinguished astronomer, physicist and geographer heading for Saint Petersburg where he had been elected in the Russian Academy of Sciences. Accidents and diseases during the journey prevented him from reaching Saint Petersburg, but he still travelled through Bulgaria and Moldavia. Boscovich published his travel diary translated into French in Lausanne in 1772 and then in Italian in 1784, with a preface of its author.

Boscovich finds Moldavia extremely beautiful, but abandoned and uncultivated like a desert. As a true representative of the Enlightenment, learning that the Phanariot Princes of Moldavia were paying Constantinople for their positions and recovered their expenses by all means, stealing, extorting, dispossessing their subjects, he protests against this terrible despotism in an oppressed country, but feels flattered when Prince Calimachi invites him over for a visit. Received with coffee and desserts, Boscovich writes in his diary: “I was really surprised, not expecting at all such elegance in a country of ignorance and barbarity”⁴.

In 1799, Charles-Marie, marquis de Salaberry published his *Voyage to Constantinople*, an account of his journey in the winter of 1790-91. Passing from Hungary into Wallachia, on the way to Bucharest, he describes his first encounters with the peasants with horses conscripted to drag his carriage along the extremely bad roads. He was impressed by their savage figure, the hatchet hanging at the belt, the dirty sheepskin which, thrown over the left side and attached at the breast recalled the Roman garment⁵. Knowing that Wallachia and

³ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 180.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

Moldova once formed the Roman province of Dacia and that the inhabitants still spoke a corrupted Roman language, Salaberry couldn't see much else to remind him of the Roman civilization.

Another traveller, a lady this time, Lady Elizabeth Craven, left Constantinople in 1786 heading for Vienna, through Bulgaria, Wallachia and Transylvania. She is surprised to notice that Wallachia wasn't the Orient at all: "Dinner was served in a more European manner that I could have imagined; a table on feet and chairs for us to be seated on were unexpected things"⁶. Just like Boscovich, she only appreciates the things she is used to, judging all the rest as savage and horrible. The conditions of her travel are tough and, at one time, even though twenty peasants carry her carriage on the mountain, it is capsized and Lady Craven finds herself on the ground. However, she admires the Romantic landscape, finding regrettable the uncultivated field and the Wallachian peasants' lack of zeal for taking advantage of their lands. She feels relieved to see the Habsburg eagle, to enter Transylvania and find herself under Imperial protection after her adventures in a territory seldom crossed by women.

The Baron François de Tott, a Hungarian born in exile in 1733 and raised in France, an artillery officer turned into an unofficial counsellor of the Ottoman Sultan, wrote his memoirs in French and published them in 1785 in Amsterdam. After a 23 years experience in the Ottoman Empire, de Tott describes his travels of 1767 along Oriental Europe on his way to Constantinople for military business. As an unofficial emissary, he was accompanied by a servant, a "tchoadar" named Ali-Aga, responsible for the horses, provisions and accommodation in Ottoman Moldavia. His mission was to obtain everything needed for the traveller's convenience. "For this, he put us up in a pretty good village, where the poor villagers were forced on the spot to bring provisions. A promptly dislodged family made us space and two sheep were slaughtered, roasted, eaten, without payment, accompanied by several unnecessarily hits, were beginning to put me in a bad mood against my driver"⁷.

Baron de Tott was shocked by that treatment of the poor peasants, by their forced labour and the brutal beatings, the signs of their enslavement. But after a failed attempt to reason with the old man of another village in order to get supplies he was willing to pay for, the baron declares himself cured of his "stubborn humanity" and recognizes that Ali Aga's method to obtain everything by violence was the best. According to Larry Wolff, the Baron de Tott, as a representative of Western Europe learning his lesson on Moldavians, establishes his superiority, as Ali Aga shows no humanity towards the peasants he treats like animals. The Western Europe ends by accepting, even appreciating, the kicks and whips given to Eastern Europe⁸.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

A few years later, in 1805, another Frenchman, but one who, unlike those just mentioned before, has not set foot in the Romanian countries, writes a manuscript, one of those sources made up elsewhere of which Lucian Boia seemed to talk. Antoine François Le Clerc, a French officer, wants to prove himself useful to Napoleon after his exile for a decade, during which he had fought for the restoration of the monarchy in France. We say it is a source produced elsewhere, because Le Clerc did not travel himself in the countries he wrote about, but used both observations obtained from French citizens, present in different missions, in both Romanian countries and works of various authors.

His *Topographical and Statistical Memoir on Bessarabia, Wallachia and Moldavia, Provinces of Turkey in Europe* is a manuscript of historical value, and not a travel narrative proper or a work of fiction, containing few personal observations and designed to highlight the economic benefits these countries could bring to France. We will focus on his remarks concerning the capitals of the two countries and their inhabitants.

At that time, Bucharest, “capital and residence of Hospodar”⁹ was a very populated great and beautiful city [...], but with unhealthy air and water of poor quality; all the animals that are killed are exposed on stands which the streets are full of and where, in the summer, the heat of the sun soon spoils them. One may well imagine the reaction of the foreign travellers, arrived from “civilized” countries, when faced with such unbearable cruelty.

As in Lady Craven’s case, the sources consulted by Le Clerc make him deplore the fact that the land is so scarcely cultivated, but he also gives an explanation to the living conditions of these people, these enslaved peasants subjected on the one hand to the abuse of the boyars and Hospodars of their country, and to the Turkish invasions, on the other hand: “Riches so strongly announced by nature and so ardently sought in other countries, are entirely neglected in this one, and several reasons contribute to that. The government’s indolence, the Wallachians’ laziness and ignorance, their fear of losing with their wealth the little freedom their masters still let them enjoy, the ever changing of the Hospodars, whose dignity rarely passes on to their heirs, the few needs that one experiences in a country that nature has endowed so abundantly with all that is necessary for life, all these considerations may enter the care we have always taken to hide these treasures to the insatiable greed of the Turks”¹⁰. In a cruel and barbaric policy, the Ottomans cannot tolerate an enlightened and rich people thriving on their borders, and they have made of it a shy and creepy flock, devoid of freedom, of the fun of science, arts and labour.

⁹ Antoine François Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei din Europa*. Ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv, note și comentarii de Ioan-Aurel Pop și Sorin Șipoș. Traducere din limba franceză de Delia-Maria Radu; însoțită de reproducerea manuscrisului original. Institutul Cultural Român, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 15.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

When describing the people of Wallachia, Le Clerc compares them with both the Turks and the Moldavians, finding similarities and differences: “The customs of the Wallachians are simple, and are not embellished or spoiled by art. They have taken a lot of things from the Turks, their masters; their virtues, as well as their vices have many similarities. Like the Turks, the Wallachians are very hospitable with each other, but are rather reserved with strangers. Their little consideration for the latter, the reluctance with which they perform towards them the duties of hospitality, all this displeases with all the more reason that this behaviour contrasts with the Moldavians’ frank cordiality and marked attentions for foreigners. Hospitality would, however, be even more necessary in Wallachia since there are no inns there, or at least very few of them; it would be desirable that this virtue became a general practice there. The Wallachians are very fond of wine; they are lazy, greedy, but otherwise quite good people; if we find rogues among them, they are almost always Armenians, Greeks and Jews who, here, as everywhere else, excel in the ways of getting rich at the expense of others”¹¹.

Iași is better placed than Bucharest. “Iași, the capital of Moldavia and residence of the Hospodar, is located [...] on the Bahlui river, about two leagues from its mouth in the Pruth, on a marshy land, but surrounded by the most pleasant sites. This city may have a league and a half around. [...] Instead of pavement, there are boards and beams put across. [...] There are no public inns as in Bucharest. On the streets one sees a great number of shops and stalls of merchants of all kinds. They are a quite nice image when illuminated at night”¹².

The author is surprised by the contrast between appearance and everyday life: if, during public holidays, the Moldavian princes and main boyars show off an impressive pomp, amplified by the large number of charming women, the brightness of their beauty and richness of their ornaments, the domestic economy is carried so far in the Voivode’s palace that his meals are characterized by a frugality one does not encounter even among the simplest individuals in France or another neighbouring country.

As for their vices and virtues, Le Clerc writes the following: “The Moldavians usually have, like all men, their flaws and virtues. These latter are even scarcer among them that the education they are in need of gives them no way of acquiring them: therefore, to become virtuous they have nothing else except the resources nature can offer them. Pride and vanity seem to be related with the Moldavians. When they have a good horse and excellent weapons, they believe they are the first of all men; and in the movement of vanity which transports them, they would declare war to the most formidable potentate in the universe. Moldavians are generally caustic, bold and quarrelsome, but they calm down with the same ease that they get angry; they are naturally inclined to

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 25.

drunkenness. Moderation is a virtue unknown to Moldavians; they are proud in prosperity, but cowardly and vile in adversity. Nothing seems difficult for them at the first attempt, but at the slightest provocation, the slightest resistance, they fall into discouragement, despondency seizes them, and they do not know what to do. Not only do Moldavians not dedicate themselves to sciences, but they even hate anything that can have the slightest connection to them: thus, they ignore even the name of the fine arts and belles-lettres. They believe that science takes away the use of reason”¹³.

Here, again, the system of values, the norm, of the world where the traveller comes from differs from that of the space described. He judges abnormal the average Moldavians’ lack of need to know the sciences, fine arts or belles-lettres, but those concerned first of all to survive from one day to the other do not have the occasion to use and appreciate the French philosophy and art of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

The difference between the two worlds is so great, and the myth of the noble savage launched by Rousseau seems so out of place in such conditions, that Le Clerc exclaims according to his sources: “Let Rousseau come again to tell us that the lawless barbarian people are better than civilized ones! We will ask him to go live for a year in the forests of Moldavia!”¹⁴

The turn of events between 1770 and 1860 reveals the constant integration of the Romanian Principalities in the “civilized” Europe. It is an integration and not a Westernization, since their reception of the Western models and experience is an adaptation rather than an imitation¹⁵. The adaptation of our country to the Western customs, norms, was already far advanced in 1848, when another foreign traveller considers that there is not much difference between an evening with the Moldavian-Vlach boyars and one with the French: “Nowadays there are few boyars who don’t travel to France and Italy. So, except the Oriental custom to offer pipes, jams and sorbets to any visitor, Bucharest salons do not differ in any way from ours. Our newspapers and books are deployed and open on the tables; if pieces of our operas are not sang, our vaudevilles are read aloud at vigil; our politics is discussed with passion; our statesmen, who are careful to pay back, are known by heart. Anyway, we are received, however obscure we may be, with a fraternal eagerness, and we immediately have the feeling of being like in the family”¹⁶.

Even the peasants are seen differently: “The Romanian Peasants, painfully oppressed by the Magyars and the Saxons in Transylvania and their

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

¹⁵ Keith M. Hitchins, *The Romanians, 1774-1866*, Oxford University, Oxford, England, 1996, p. 2

¹⁶ H. Desprez, “La Moldo-Valachie et le mouvement roumain”, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome 21, Paris, 1848, p. 112.

own boyars in Moldavia and Wallachia, have retained their wide foreheads framed by long black hair and in their caressing eyes adorned by thick eyebrows, all the signs of a quick and lively, penetrating and mobile intelligence. Poverty, instead of leading them to sad concerns of despair, has simply sharpened the mocking wit by which they can avenge their sufferings. Their vivid, alert imagination, detached from the evils of the present, likes moreover to refer to the old times, where it hovers at will in the regions of the supernatural. The Romanian peasants thus show within them the precious covenant of enthusiasm and irony. Finally, thanks to that Oriental atmosphere in which they continued to live, they have not lost the friendly and simple gravity that characterized the ancient peoples and which today belongs only to barbarians”¹⁷.

Adapting to “central” Occidental, or Western, norms make the two principalities, so strange and barbaric in the travel accounts dating from the early 18th century, pleasant countries, especially for the French, who can feel at home there.

Much of the travel writing deals explicitly with understanding Europe, with assessments of Europe’s significance for the traveller’s self and society, and with dramatisations of individual and collective identities against a European background, states Wendy Bracewell¹⁸. From their late eighteenth century, Western travellers regularly judged countries in the East of Europe not just in terms of civility or barbarism, but according to their “European” character, and what gradually can more and more be seen in these writings is the notion of a degree of Europeanness, or the process of becoming ‘more’ European. Travelling to Bucharest in 1786, Jeremy Bentham met two or three boyars whom he describes as ‘Europeanised’: they spoke foreign languages and attended the theatre¹⁹.

Years later, the descendants of these ‘Europeanised’ Easterners describe their home cities by comparing them to Western ones (Bucharest is often compared to Paris, a.s.o.) This aspiration to move towards the “centre” in all ways leads to a kind of split self, in Wendy Bracewell's opinion²⁰, as the authors of travel writings are struggling to hang on to the values they have learnt abroad while at the same time beset with an uneasy nostalgia for the domestic way they have been taught to despise.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 109.

¹⁸ Wendy Bracewell, “The Limits of Europe in East European Travel Writing”, in *Under Eastern Eyes. A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe*, Edited by Wendy Bracewell & Alex Drace-Francis, Central European University Press, Budapest, New York, 2008, p. 65.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

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IDENTITY AND RACE. THE PROBLEM OF OTHERNESS IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES

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Abstract. *Race is the ultimate trope of difference and identity because it is so very arbitrary in its application. We too often use language in such a way as to insert racial difference as natural into our statements. To do so is to exacerbate the complex problem of cultural or ethnic difference rather than diminish or clarify it. In the context of identitarian debates, racism seems to have become fashionable again; The fact that literally every day people are killed in the name of differences ascribed to race and ethnic identity renders even more urgent the necessity to deconstruct the ideas of difference inscribed in the trope of race in order to reveal the latent relations of power and ideology inherent in the popular and academic usage of the concept.*

Keywords: *identity, marginality, race, ethnicity, otherness, culture, ideology.*

Preliminaries

Today, we can see identitarian politics at work in several ways: the rise of neo-Nazism, the emergence of regional nationalisms and religious fundamentalisms, the renewed forms of racism or, in the academia, the critique of multiculturalism. Simply put, identitarianism – as the project of either marginalizing the other or reducing it to the categories of the same – pervades our contemporary world.

Identity has always been a key concept in western thought. Different fields of inquiry have wrestled with it: philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychoanalysis have all attempted to define it either *ontologically*, i.e., in itself, or *praxiologically*, as a social self (re)shaped in the encounters with the others, cast themselves into different roles as the result of cultural pressures coming from peculiar structures of power and ideology.

The issue of identity has been explored by philosophers and thinkers for millennia. Socrates' idea of "knowing thyself" has been historically pursued from the scholastic philosophy of Descartes, Locke, Hume and Kant, to William James who introduces it into psychology wherefrom is then appropriated by psychiatry and psychoanalysis, to such contemporary thinkers as Paul Ricoeur, Emmanuel

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Levinas or Hannah Arendt. As A. Modell points out, ever since Descartes separated the mind from the body, the question has been: “How can individuals private experience of the self be treated as a scientific reality by others?”¹. One of the first answers is given by William James who, in *Principles of Psychology* (1890) holds that the experience of the self is a fundamental reality which cannot be reduced to something more objective. As M. Putz noticed, echoing E. Erikson, ‘identity’ is fundamentally ambiguous and not limited to a single field of application. This ambiguity – which has often led to a baffling conceptual confusion: identity, self, ego, subjectivity, personhood etc. – is ultimately the result of the paradoxical nature of the self: on one hand, we speak of identity as, conventionally, the same; on the other, the consciousness of self is always changing.

For the sake of clarity, I suggest that a distinction should be made between ‘self’ and ‘identity’. The first term denotes the inner, essential and assumed being, what C. G. Jung called “the personal core” and W. James “the real nucleus of our personal identity”². ‘Identity’, on the other hand, expresses a unity in variety; it speaks of our relations with others and points to an inner awareness of the ever changing stream of consciousness. It is, then, best conceived of not as a fixed entity, but as a function, a selecting agency that directs attention to what is more interesting or appealing in the outside world.

Within the framework of the discussions about identity, the term is sometimes used in a commonsensical, intuitive manner or, on the contrary, it becomes too theoretically sophisticated or context-specific. However, I would like to submit that, no matter how identity is approached, there are three ideas that need accentuation: identity can only be discussed in relation to time; it can only and always be defined in opposition to what it is not, which brings up the issue of otherness; it has to be considered from a larger, cultural standpoint.

Identity and Temporality

The temporal dimension of identity has been considered either from an essentialist stance, i.e., proclaiming the permanent and unchanging nature of the self, or from a relativist position that, in its extreme, post-structuralist form (cf. R. Barthes, J. Derrida) proclaims the death of the subject and the dissolution of identity.

The first position has its roots in classical antiquity, specifically in the Platonic idea of the self which holds that the soul has an identity that precedes bodily and social existence. The subsequent Christian idea of the self similarly maintains that the soul has a role in a heavenly community which, on Earth, is represented by the Church. Further, St. Augustine introduced the idea of a private self which is capable of self-reflection; the understanding and acceptance of this private self manifest itself as “love of the self”³.

¹ Arnold H. Modell, *The Private Self*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1993, p. 2.

² Manfred Putz, *Fabula identității*, Institutul European, Iași, 1995, p.30.

³ Quoted in A. Modell, op.cit., p.41.

For John Locke, what accounts for the unity of identity is its self-consciousness and what maintains the continuity in time is memory, understood as the retrospective expression of reflection. In the chapter “Of Identity and Diversity” of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke further asserts that identity implies assuming and reducing all variations to a common core guaranteed by consciousness.

Much along the same essentialist tradition is another line of thought which aimed at arriving at a science of the subject. Like Sigmund Freud, for example, who focused on the structural and unchanging aspects of the self: his first model is *topographical*, proposing a division of the mind into *preconscious*, *conscious* and *unconscious*; the second is *structural*, postulating the relatively stable, well-known triad: *the ego*, *the id* and *the superego*, or over-consciousness whose emergence he attributed to the memory of the threat of punishment by the primordial father (cf. *Totem And Taboo*, 1913). In what concerns the continuity of self in time, Freud explained it as a reflection of lasting identifications with formerly loved persons.

Julia Kristeva takes on from Freud and, in *La Revolution du langage poetique* (1974), adds that *reason* and *order* are essential attributes of a unified subjectivity that expresses itself through an orderly syntax. It is equally true, however, that what is ordered and accepted is continuously being threatened by the ‘heterogeneous’ and the ‘irrational’, by the subversive presence of laughter or poetry, in a word, by *desire*. The concept of ‘desire’ is also used by the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan when he describes the subject as split between the conscious life of the ‘ego’ and the unconscious life of ‘desire’. Lacan restates Freud in Saussurean terms stating that human beings enter a pre-existing system of signifiers which takes a meaning only within a language system that enables us to find a subject position within a relational structure. Furthermore, he makes the distinction between *the imaginary* and *the symbolic* in order to show how we acquire an adult identity: the imaginary is a state of plenitude without a clear distinction between subject and object; the child projects a certain unity unto his fragmented self-image in the mirror, thus producing a ‘fictional ego’. Like with Freud, the presence of the father teaches him to distinguish himself from the others and summons him to take up a position that is defined by (sexual) differences, or by interdictions and taboos. Its identity as a subject is constituted by relations of difference and similarity with the others around him, so he moves from the imaginary register into the symbolic order, the pre-given structure of social and sexual roles or relations.

To complete the picture, I intend to turn now to the opposite perspective, that which sees identity as time-bound and discourse related. For the notion of a stable identity is but an illusion. Not only do we not bathe twice in the waters of the same river, but change in time is inevitable and, sometimes, necessary. “There is a note of noble humanism in the belief that each⁴ of us can change” and, indeed,

⁴ Andreea Deciu, *Nostalgiiile identității*, Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 14.

lived experiences, significant encounters or dramatic events do change us for the better or worse. It is in this sense that David Hume in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739) speaks of 'degrees' of identity and Derek Parfitt of 'stages'. For Hume, such degrees can be reduced to unity through 'imagination' and 'belief', while for Parfitt, what gives continuity and consistency to a person's identity, considered at two different temporal moments, is self consciousness and awareness of its identity and continuous existence in time⁵.

If we have to admit that the self changes, how does one preserve one's sense of a stable identity that can be recognizable for others? The French critic Paul Ricoeur has convincingly answered the question by proposing a new theory of identity starting from the etymological meaning of the concept. In Latin, 'identity' can be designated either as *idem* or *ipse*, both related to what he calls "the primary trait" of the self: temporality. Identity as 'idem' embodies the principle of permanence in time, of continuity and repeated self-assertion and is practically synonymous to 'sameness'. On the other hand, identity as 'ipse' is that which is not defined by permanence in time, but which undergoes changes and makes alterity/otherness possible. The synonym of 'ipseity' is the notion of 'selfhood'.

The relation between the two forms of identity is to be taken dialectically, functioning rather as a binary system, always in search for equilibrium. *Idem-identity* and *ipse-identity* are further instrumental in Ricoeur's defining of the concept of 'person', a concept qualified by means of the predicates that we ascribe to it, by way of 'identifying reference'. However, it is possible to ascribe two different kinds of predicates to one and the same person: physical predicates that a person shares with others and mental predicates which distinguish it from others, this being, in Ricoeur's words 'the identity of ascription', since "ascribing a state of consciousness to oneself is felt; ascribing it to someone else is observed"⁶. The implication of such a statement is important, for it allows for the next step in the discussion about identity, bringing up the issue of otherness.

The Self and the Other

Ipse-identity/selfhood can be seen in a dialectical relation not only *to idem-identity/sameness*, but also as part of another binary opposition, i.e., that between *the self* and *the other* (than self). Shifting the focus from the private to the public realm of the self adds a new dimension to the relation of the two: that of desire, control and especially power and ideology, all of them present in the realm of everyday praxis.

To consider the private self in relation to the others in the private space means to understand the self and the other as functioning in an intersubjective

⁵ Derek Parfitt, *Ceea ce credem că sintem*, in *Secolul 21*, 1-7, 2002, p.103-104.

⁶ Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1994, p.38.

system. Such an arrangement can be looked at from a double perspective: either as the extension of the self into the other (or the other into the self), or, conversely, as the degree to which the other is experienced as separate, external or alien. This is tantamount to saying with Todorov⁷ that the experience of otherness is based on egocentrism and can embody several forms: if it is *ontological*, then it can be ‘assimilationist’, seeing the other as equal or identical, or ‘discriminating’, which presupposes a positive or negative assessment of the other; in its *epistemological* form, it would become manifest either in the desire to know the other or to ignore him; and, finally, in the *praxiological* order this would imply either keeping a distance between us and the other, or covering that distance in order to know him.

If we take into account the notions of desire and power, this will lead us to consider the relative degree of altruism and self-interest, the inequalities of need and desire which make one partner more vulnerable, or more powerful than the other. The wish to merge with the other is invariably accompanied by some form of love, by an idealization of the other, or, on the contrary, the perception of the other as alien is usually accompanied by some form of enmity and hatred. Merging and separateness can be seen as a dialectical process. Merging with the other triggers a counter-reaction because the establishment of a private self is crucial for psychic survival, otherwise the self runs the danger of being swallowed up in the other: “In asymmetrical relationships, in which the other is idealized, individuality is threatened also by the fact that idealization of the other is accompanied by depletion of the self. What is valued is not in the self but in the other. The other is a person who knows and who has”⁸.

In his *Phenomenology of the Mind* (1807), while commenting on what came to be known as the master-slave relationship, Hegel, too, admitted that the self and the other exist in a dialectical, if paradoxical relationship, posing dilemmas that have no solutions. The paradox is twofold: that of the private and public self, simultaneously caught into a relationship of dependency and autonomy, and that of the self as a fixed identity, yet within the flux of experience. The conclusion that Hegel draws from here is that the self is split and divided against itself. Or, as Taylor writes in his exegesis of Hegel’s work, “what we have is an oscillation between a sense of our own self-identity and an equally acute sense of our dependence on a changing, shifting external reality. The subject has to accept the fact of an inner division, in which the inner self is painfully divided, into an ideal immutable and self-identical being on one side and plunged into a world of confusion and change on the other”⁹.

⁷ See Tzvetan Todorov, *Descoperirea Americii. Problema celuiilalt*, București, 1994.

⁸ A. Modell, *op.cit.*, p.115.

⁹ Charles Taylor, *Hegel*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1975, qtd in A. Modell, *op. cit.*, p.99.

Hegel's elaboration upon the master-slave relationship transcends its topicality and is, in fact, a meditation upon an important aspect of human condition seen as caught between commitment and disengagement, between solitude and belonging. Needless to say, this dialectic is not only valid in the case of the self and the external other, but refers also to the internalized relation between an idealized and an actual self.

Cultural Otherness

In *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991), Julia Kristeva starts her discussion of 'the foreigner' from the assumption that 'otherness' underlies elementary civilization. Alongside the psychological meaning of the other that tends to exclude the dissimilar, there were, from the very beginning political and pragmatic meanings that would deny the foreigner the status of a citizen in the polis, state, or empire.

The shift from politics to symbolic, cultural factors led to an internalization of otherness which came to be seen as barbarity (cf. the opposition Greek/non-Greek, i.e., barbarian) and moral inferiority. Whether politically, religiously or culturally defined, the foreigner as the other has always been defined in negative terms, as the 'black sheep' of the family, community or church. Edward Said made a strong claim for the cultural definition of otherness when, in *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) showed that the construction of an identity involves opposites and others; generally speaking, Said argues, Western culture acquired an identity by seeing itself as distinct from the Orient, whereby the latter came to be seen as a sort of cultural ersatz, or hidden self: "European culture gained its strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self"¹⁰.

But any simple difference, be it cultural, political, religious or sexual, is not enough to support the idea of otherness. For, ideally, a social and cultural structure can evolve towards a liberal democracy that is positive and assimilationist and, therefore, accepts the other. Or, at the other extreme, it can evolve towards a totalitarianism that overrules otherness and stresses conformism and levelling of differences. Therefore, what makes acceptance or rejection possible is the particular configuration of *power* detained by the group or class to which the other does not belong and possibly defined as the ability to cause or prevent change. The concept of 'power' is instrumental in the maintaining of self-esteem and in the process of identity-building; when the sense of significance is lost and replaced by the feeling of 'powerlessness'. The self may resort to violence, or to perverted or neurotic forms of self-assertion.

In *Power and Innocence* (1872), R. May reconsiders the concept of power in the context of the dialectic between the self and the others and suggests a

¹⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism. The Western Conception of the Orient*, Penguin, London, 1978, p. 3.

taxonomy that is worth mentioning at this point. Moving from a benign to a harmful model, he identifies five avatars of power that govern the relationship with an external other: *integrative power*, or power *with*; *nutrient power*, or power *for* (as in teaching or democratic statesmanship); *competitive power*, or power *against*; *manipulative power*, or power *over* (as in the media or in politics) and, finally, *exploitative power*, i.e., the brutal exercise or imposition of force¹¹.

Practically, most of the important cultural theorists (Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, Edward Said, Stephen Greenblatt) link the formation of the subject and the construction of identity to the notions of power and ideology. For Terry Eagleton, all social practices, art included, exist by and in ideology because “what we say and believe connects with the power structure and power relations of the society we live in”¹². The ideological overlaps the aesthetic if only because we always use language in the context of political discursive conditions that, inevitably, affects the way in which we construct and express our personal and cultural identity.

Race, Ethnicity and Alterity

‘Race’ and ‘ethnicity’ are cognate terms that are sometimes used arbitrarily or intuitively to describe, generally speaking, a categorical interpretation of the encounter between the self and the other. To distinguish between the two one would do well to start with the definition of the terms. According to the psychologist J.M. Casas, ‘race’ can be defined as a subgroup of peoples possessing a definite combination of physical characters, of genetic origin, the combination of which to varying degrees distinguishes the sub-group from other sub-groups of mankind [sic]¹³. As the author further points out, the biological definition has no behavioural, psychological or social implication per se. However, what people believe, feel and think about distinguishable racial groups can have psychological implications for individuals’ intrapersonal and interpersonal attitudes.

As for the second term, Casas defines ‘ethnicity’ as “a group classification of individuals who share a unique social and cultural heritage (customs, language, religion and so on) passed on from generation to generation”¹⁴. In such a definition, ethnicity is not biologically defined and, therefore, ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ are not synonyms. Possibly, members of different racial groups could belong to the same ethnic group, while members of different ethnic groups need not belong to different racial groups¹⁵.

¹¹ Rollo May, *Power and Innocence*, Dell Publishing, New York, 1972, pp. 105-109.

¹² Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory. An Introduction*, Blackwell, Oxford UK and Cambridge US, 1983, p. 14.

¹³ Qtd. in George E. Kent, *Blackness and the Adventure of the Western Culture*, Third World Press, Chicago, 1972, p.165.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ Janet E. Helms, *Black and White Racial Identity. Theory, Research, Practice*, Praeger, Westport, Conn., 1993, pp. 3-4.

According to J. Helms, in most sociological literature, black issues have been typically examined without regard to 'ethnicity', and those of Whites without regard to 'race'. That is, in the former case, one rarely finds analyses of how different categories of Black ethnics differ (e.g. how Afro-Americans differ from Haitians or Black Hispanics). Rather one's visible 'Africanness' is assumed to account for one's psycho-social development regardless of ethnicity. On the other hand, though, one occasionally finds analyses of how White ethnics (Irish, Polish etc) differ from one another, with few exceptions, one rarely finds scholarly interest in how the condition of being white influences Whites' psycho-social development.

Black and White racial identity theories have traditionally examined psychological development from the level of racial rather than ethnic similarity or difference. In this instance, racial identity refers to a Black or White persons identifying or not with the racial group with which s/he is generally assumed to share racial heritage. Additionally, racial identity refers to the manner of one's identification with the respective racial groups. Following Erikson¹⁶, one's identification with, or dissociation from a racial group is influenced by three interrelated factors: personal identity, reference group orientation and ascribed identity.

Personal identity concerns one's feelings and attitudes about oneself, i.e., generic personality characteristics such as anxiety, self-esteem etc.

Reference-group orientation refers to the extent to which one uses particular racial groups to guide one's feelings, thoughts and behaviour. One's reference-group orientation is reflected in such things as value systems, memberships, ideologies etc.

Ascribed identity pertains to the individual's deliberate affiliation or commitment to a particular racial group. Hence, a person who considers one race to be the important definer of self has a *mono-racial* ascribed identity; a person who feels a connectedness to two racial groups has a *bi-racial* ascribed identity; and the person who is committed to no racial group has a *marginal* ascribed identity. Applied to individual cases, these three components may vary. For example, a Black person who wants to become a full member of the White community might feel good about himself (positive personal identity), consider his racial group membership to be irrelevant to his life (marginal ascribed identity), while attempting to live according to white beliefs (White reference-group orientation). Similarly, a 'melting pot' White might feel good about himself (positive personal identity), use Whites as a reference group (White reference-group orientation) and feel a commitment only to other whites (White ascribed identity).

¹⁶ E. H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, Norton, New York, 1968.

Conclusion

The difference between ‘race’ and ‘identity’ marks the evolution of human thinking about difference and otherness from a biological and pseudo-scientific understanding to a cultural one. The latter orientation abandons the concept of ‘race’ as an analytical category and allows for the intervention of psychic factors coupled with symbolic elements that point to the constructedness of the concept. For the dimension of race makes no distinction between colour and intrinsic qualities. Physical differences are not sufficient for establishing racial identity and sometimes they are not even necessary, as in the case of Jewish identity, for example. So, while colour and other physical traits are “visiocentrically powerful, interpretations of them are not, they are cultural”. Racism then, can be seen as a “culturally inflected reaction”, and ‘race’ as “a categorical interpretation born of the primitive distinction between self and the other”¹⁷.

When Werner Sollors speaks of race and ethnicity as ‘inventions’, or as ‘collective fictions that are continually reinvented’¹⁸ he has in mind this very constructedness of the concepts, a re-interpretation of previously ‘essentialist’ categories coming from the idea that the modern world itself is culturally constructed, in tune with the postmodern theories (M. Foucault, Hayden White) that stress the importance of language in the social construction of reality.

Modern and postmodern interpretations of ethnicity as an invention challenge the traditional understanding of the concept as a relatively fixed and self-evident category. As the same W. Sollors points out, such assumptions rest on a few premises: ethnic groups are typically imagined as if they were natural, real, eternal and stable; they represent a continuation of certain myth and traits; the groups’ preservation is threatened by conflicts emerging from the world outside; assimilation is the foe of ethnicity etc. Such ideas could be challenged in the sense of a more flexible understanding that stresses process and change. Though they may pretend to be eternal and essential, ethnic groups continually emerge, and even where exist for a very long time, they constantly change and redefine themselves, usually in opposition to something non-ethnic.

What may be less obvious is that literature and the arts, in general, are instrumental in the emergence and maintenance of ethnic communities because they offer specific perspectives unto the way in which psychological, social and cultural forces shape human destiny in particular historical circumstances.

¹⁷ Erik Maria Kramer, *Postmodernism and Race*, Praeger Publishers, Westport, Conn., 1997, p. 12.

¹⁸ Werner Sollors, *The Invention of Ethnicity*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1991, *Introduction*, pp. ix-x.

II. SELF-IMAGES AT EUROPE'S EASTERN BORDERS

THE BORDERS – REALITY AND CONCEPT

Nicolae EDROIU*

Abstract. *The author discusses various meanings of the “border” concept: cultural border, confessional border, natural border. However, he insists on the political borders, which caused various conflicts and anomalies, such as the Berlin Wall or the lines of barbed wire drawn by the USSR, separating Romania and Moldavia. Political borders do not always overlap the ethno-linguistic ones, as was the case of the 1918 union of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Crișana and Maramureș with Romania, when territories massively inhabited by Romanians remained outside the newly-formed state. Its Western border was, over time, the most challenged one, and thus, in order to solve the issue, propositions such as exchanges of population or access corridors were suggested.*

Keywords: *political border, confessional border, cultural border, natural borders, minorities.*

At first, borders were a historical reality.

They emerged as a space of demarcation, of separation between cultures and peoples, civilizations and ethnicities, peoples and the political states they made up, having, over time, a complex role in the history of the human society.

These spaces were concrete elements, located on land, usually areas of variable width, generally separating realities that differed from each other.

The first border, noticeable even by the most ancient human communities, who took them into account, was, however, the **natural border**. It separated geomorphological units whose characteristics differed and constituted a barrier to crossing the geographical space. Thus was ensured the protection of the human groups who inhabited the territories situated on both sides of this natural “demarcation”, as we may call it.

Natural borders were most often constituted by large rivers and chains of high mountains, deserts and frozen regions which were more difficult to cross in the more distant past.

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The human communities also delimited the territories they inhabited according to their landforms. The demographic extension created by the natural population growth followed the landforms, being for a long time positively or restrictively influenced by them. In the case of large movements of population, of the great migrations, the natural borders prevented, even if only temporarily, the occupation of territories and closed their expansion space.

Assumed by people, by the human communities, the natural border also became a *societal* one, accepted as a zone of separation between different communities, dividing the territory inhabited and occupied by each of them.

With political and state organization, the borders marked again different situations in the field, delimited the territories embedded within those bodies from the ones left outside them. In Antiquity, in the Roman Empire for example, the borders were marked by the chain of castres built at the edge of its extension, with a large control area outside them. The natural borders were sought to set the imperial frontier, for better defence, a good example of this being the so-called Pannonian Mesopotamia.

The natural borders remained, in the Middle Ages as well, a limit for the kingdoms and empires existing during that historic period. The medieval political establishment disregarded the ethnic component, the ethno-demographic structure of the incorporated territory, natural boundaries becoming convenient to the territorial extension/expansion policies. In the European region we live in, the Kingdom of Hungary aimed for the Danube and the Carpathians to constitute the limits to its extension, a goal also shared by the Ottoman Empire and then by the following Habsburg one. Tsarist Russia had the same strategy in its confrontation with the falling Ottoman Empire: it gradually placed its borders in the detriment of the latter, on waterways moving from the North to the South or South-East, flowing into the Caspian and Black Sea, i.e. on the Dniester, then on the Prut, finally aspiring to rule over the peaks of the Eastern Carpathians.

In the modern and contemporary periods as well, with the establishment of the national states, the natural borders became *political and statal borders* on certain of their stretches. Then they were a line traced in the field by each of the states, with a narrow strip in between, called “No Man’s Land”, separating those political states. In the case of watercourses, what was taken into account was their thalwegs, i.e. the line following the high depth on the bottom of the water, and not the middle of its width, also due to navigation issues. As for the mountain massifs, the aim was to place the border on the line uniting their highest summits.

If the boundary was drawn on flat land, they resorted to artificially marking it by signs placed by mutual agreement by the states concerned, or following deliberations, decisions and international assistance. Misunderstandings and

escalating conflicts between the states led to marking the borders between them through extensive artificial works, inhuman, antihuman ones, as we can call them today, such as building walls and putting up electrified barbed wire lines to prevent people's crossing from one side to another.

The biggest anomaly is probably the Berlin Wall, erected overnight on August 13, 1961, which brutally divided streets and houses, separating families and inhabitants of the same national and local community, a wall symbolically demolished in November 1989.

And in the last years of the USSR, three parallel lines of barbed wire were drawn on the left bank of the river Prut, electrically powered, to separate even on land the Romanians and the "Moldavians", the (national) Romanian state and the (national) "Moldavian" state, according to the political ideology and the language used by the Soviet political and ideological circles and even the "Romanian" ones in what was then called the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the autumn of 1918, of the Ottoman Empire and the decline of Tsarist Russia, the national states of Central and South-Eastern Europe came about and were constituted. This was the late "Europeanization" of these regions of Europe, their establishment on a national direction, and not the reverse phenomenon spoken of sometimes, of "Balkanization" of Europe.

The powder keg of Europe was not in these regions of ours, the conflict of interests belonged to the Great Powers of Europe finding themselves in a serious condition, which they turned into a state of war.

Then, state boundaries defined themselves, due to previous developments. In the case of Romania, the union of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania, Crișana and Maramureș respectively with Romania, the Romanian national state was completed. To those who then challenged the validity of the new Romanian state construct, the great historian Nicolae Iorga replied that "the post-1918 Romania was surrounded by Romanians". Indeed, marginal territories massively inhabited by Romanians remained then outside the political-statal boundaries of Romania. Romania's North, East and South political-statal frontier was set on natural borders, not on the ethno-linguistic boundary line defining ethno-demographic majorities on both sides.

Thus, the Northern border on the Tisza split in two Maramureș, a historic province that had never been halved before. In the East, the state border on the Dniester left out the Romanian majority in Transnistria, a region of conflict until today. Even in 1711, when Dimitrie Cantemir of Moldavia and the Russian Tsar Peter I delimited on the Dniester River the border between the two countries, the Romanian majority beyond the Dniester, in Transnistria, was left to Tsarist Russia.

In the South, Danube is the natural border accepted as state frontier ever since 1881, the Romanian majority in Timoc having the known historical evolution.

The only Romanian border drawn on land and not overlapping a natural frontier is the Western one. It first emerged in the democratic decisions in the autumn of 1918, which took into account the aspirations of the absolute majority in the respective territories, its political and statal self-determination. The text of the Unification Resolution of December 1, 1918 in Alba Iulia spoke of the decision of the Romanians living in Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş to unite with Romania, and of the territory inhabited by them. Completion of Romania's Western border then required a lot of responsible work in 1919-1920, involving European states and institutions which considered it legitimate in terms of ethno-demographic weights.

Paradoxically, it has become the Romanian border most "challenged" by the revisionist circles in the neighbouring state to the West.

Due to the complex, ethno-demographic and political situation in the Central and South-Eastern Europe, the reign of foreign Kingdoms, Empires and Monarchies led to penetrations of allogeneic populations and colonizations. As a result of tracing the national states borders following the peoples' democratic decisions of self-determination in 1917-1918, internationally recognized by the Peace Conference of 1919-1920, the new national states contained also other ethnic groups, the so-called national minorities, who were provided adequate rights.

They had various percentage and territorial layout. In terms of the share of the national minorities, they could be dispersed and compact, respectively, where the latter constituted another, relative or absolute, majority in that specific region of a state.

By their location in the statal territory, they are border and inner minorities, the first case being more frequent, as the political-statal border overlapping the ethno-linguistic boundary followed the route dividing two majorities, each of the parts being however left with national minorities belonging to the other one. As a rule, the national minorities are dispersed in the border region, not constituting compact majorities, as then even the way of tracing the respective political-statal border would be questionable.

There were situations in which the border overlapped not the ethno-linguistic separation boundary, but a natural alignment which was inconsistent with the above mentioned division line, national majorities being thus sacrificed.

Sometimes the exchange of the population was proposed and even made in order to ethnically "strengthen" the political-statal border. The action itself is not desirable, as it does not always take into account the will of those concerned, an individual, a family, a micro-community of people having the inalienable right to live and live where they want, beyond the political-statal constructs, the boundaries that are drawn on the ground.

But the relationship between the ethno-demographic share and the territorial placement can lead to the situation of inner compact minority. In this

case, the solution of the access corridor was invented and proposed, by which the mother-state should secure its direct link, marked in the territory, with that compactly disposed minority within the space of another state. Such a solution could not be applied.

In the case of the united Romania after 1918, there were two such cases, namely the one in the former Eastern Transylvania, where the Hungarian royalty had seated *Szecklers*, granting community privileges, but not territorial ones, as in the case of Saxons, and in that of the *Gagauz* people in the centre of the former Bessarabia.

The democratic freedoms enjoyed by the two ethnic groups, together with the other national minorities throughout interwar Romania allowed them a positive development under the new, Romanian administration. As the Hungarians lived in Romania dispersed, in the border region with the new state of Hungary, on a strip of 100-200 km, the majority of the population being Romanian, in order to support their territorial claims, the Hungarian revisionist circles came up with the issue of the *Szecklers*, whom they sought to incorporate to Horthyst Hungary.

Pushing the demarcation line between Romania and Hungary in the summer of 1940 much towards South, South-East to also incorporate the region inhabited by the *Szecklers* led to the division by a diagonal line of Transylvania, a space which hitherto had never been halved. Preceding the unnatural act of August 30, 1940 in Vienna, the Hungarian Horthy political circles had launched, as a minimal solution, the “project” of the two halves of Transylvania, trying in vain to support it with geographic, historic and ethno-demographic terms, as the documentary and historical data contradicted such ideas and allegations.

Then, there is the confessional border, separating the geographic, ethno-demographical and political space of great religions. Thus, the border of Christianity, then that of Islam, the latter one being imposed and ideologically and programmatically supported by the precepts of *Quran*. Today, most loss of human lives is due to the differences of religious faith of individuals and human groups, to the political borders which are sought to be drawn over denominational boundaries.

There is also the *cultural border*, separating civilisations. Hence the *acculturation* phenomenon and concept, appreciated in historical and political debates as a positive one.

But today there is also talk of the spiritualization of the borders, of the circulation of great ideas and cultural values over political-statal borders which are often tried to be used as barriers to their dissemination.

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As for the ***border concept***, it should be noted that it received various meanings, being influenced by the orientations and ideologies of different historical periods, when there were attempts of using it for political purposes. Sometimes it preceded the ground constructs, other times it justified them.

Political science must provide us with balanced conclusions, based on historical grounds and ideas, meant to contribute to the good living together of peoples, nations and states, beyond the borders which delimitate them territorially, and not always ethno-linguistically or mainly culturally.

AI CONFINI DELLA CRISTIANITÀ. IL DOCUMENTO “FONDAZIONALE” DELLA CITTÀ DI ORADEA (1113). INTERPRETAZIONI ECCLESIOLOGICHE ED ONOMASTICHE

Șerban TURCUȘ*

Abstract. *The present research is based on two documents reflecting the anthroponomy of the Hungarian and Transylvanian 12th century: the first dates back from 1111, the second from 1113. The anthroponomy of the bishops mentioned by the documents clearly reflects the composition of the clergy and its confessional orientation. Most of their names suggest a Greek tradition; a few suggest a Roman-Latin tradition, while one has an obvious German origin. Correlating this information with other studies concerning the Byzantine influence in this territory, one can identify a stronger Oriental ecclesiastical tradition in the Kingdom of Hungary, a tradition that was yet to be displaced by the Latin rite.*

Keywords: *Anthroponomy, Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary, bishops.*

Il documento diplomatico “fondazionale” della città di Oradea, che contiene il toponimo *Varad*, è datato al lontano 1113¹. Si tratta, cioè, di un diploma antico, risalente a nove secoli fa, sulla cui autenticità sono stati più volte sollevati dei dubbi, che tuttavia la recente critica storica ha completamente dissipato, ritenendo che esso non possa essere considerato un falso, neppure parziale.

Abbiamo a che fare con uno dei pochissimi documenti superstiti del XII secolo transilvano e ungherese. Per questo motivo, l'importanza del suo significato è maggiore rispetto a quella di altri diplomi dei secoli seguenti. Poche città della Transilvania possiedono questo tipo di documenti “fondazionali”, che segnano quella che potremmo chiamare una priorità diplomatica (Turda, Arad, Cluj, Sibiu), ma nessuna di esse possiede la doppia priorità diplomatica di Oradea e del Bihor. Il primato appartiene, di gran lunga, ad Oradea, centro che spicca sia

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¹ *Documente privind Istoria României, Veacul XIII, C. Transilvania*, vol I (1075-1250), Editura Academiei RSR, București, 1951, p.2.

per le sue caratteristiche geografiche, essendo la città più prossima all'area culturale latino-germanica, che lentamente è riuscita ad essere accolta all'interno della *élite* tribale e post-tribale ungherese, sia per le particolari circostanze storiche, che l'hanno esposta alla graduale infiltrazione ungherese, che, dopo molte resistenze, durate due secoli, è riuscita ad imporsi a livello territoriale nella parte occidentale della Transilvania.

Per poter valutare il diploma del 1113 con gli strumenti della logica storica, e non secondo le prospettive del discorso pubblico-celebrativo-propagandistico, come fanno di solito le storiografie militanti dell'Europa Centro-Orientale, oscurando spesso la lettera e lo spirito delle fonti storiche, bisogna innanzi tutto osservare che, all'interno dello scarso patrimonio diplomatico transilvano, il diploma in discussione si trova in terza posizione fra i 294 diplomi annoverati dalla storiografia romena per il periodo che va dal 1075 al 1250, ed è sempre in terza posizione fra i 31 documenti diplomatici registrati tra il 1075 e il 1200.

Se poi indagheremo più da vicino la tipologia dei documenti transilvani del periodo 1075-1200, constateremo che fino al 1177 i diplomi sono tutti documenti che riguardano istituzioni ecclesiastiche e non laiche, trattandosi di chiese, monasteri o capitoli. Inoltre, dei 31 diplomi che si riferiscono alle vicende transilvane, solo 7 riguardano concessioni, privilegi e liberalità fatte ai dipendenti del regno o ad altri laici, la stragrande maggioranza riguardando gli affari della Chiesa. Non sorprende, di certo, la prevalenza documentaria della Chiesa nella sua espressione territoriale e patrimoniale, dal momento che nel Medioevo un diploma "santifica" una situazione patrimoniale. Perché affermano questo? Semplicemente perché la Chiesa romana è l'unica istituzione in quest'area, che possieda coerentemente una "politica" di spazializzazione e di territorializzazione ed è l'unica, inoltre, in contesto gregoriano e postgregoriano, ad accumulare in modo consapevole e giuridicamente rilevante un patrimonio che gli serve per gestire al meglio il proprio regime ierocratico. Alla domanda ovvia – qual è il ruolo del re ungherese chiamato a confermare il documento? – la nostra risposta è che il re assume il ruolo di ministro della Chiesa chiamato ad autenticare una centenaria cessione di proprietà dal patrimonio reale ed il suo trasferimento nel patrimonio della Chiesa.

In effetti, i documenti diplomatici nel regno ungherese sono una competenza esclusivamente clericale. È ormai stabilmente accettata, da qualche decennio, l'idea che il cosiddetto regno ungherese sia stato nel periodo medievale un conglomerato territoriale, più o meno funzionale, che dal punto di vista della scrittura e delle lettere era pressoché illetterato². L'analfabetismo caratterizzava

² I diplomi dell'XI secolo ungherese sono poche decine, mentre per il regno francese sono documentati, sino al 1121, 5000 diplomi originali, per il regno inglese 2000 diplomi. Per farsi un'idea delle proporzioni, si consideri che nell'XI secolo dall'intero regno magiaro ci provengono tanti diplomi quanti ne provengono, per lo stesso arco di tempo, dall'abbazia di Sancti-Gall e dal suo hinterland. Cfr. Paul Bertrand, *À propos de la révolution de l'écrit (Xe-XIIIe siècles. Considérations inactuelles*, in "Médiévales", Nr. 57, 2009, p. 75, 77.

in modo massiccio la sua struttura tribale e poi quella propriamente politica, ed in proporzione altrettanto consistente anche la sua struttura ecclesiale: probabilmente oltre l'80% del clero etnicamente magiario, nei secoli XI-XII, era scarsamente familiarizzato con le tecniche della scrittura e della lettura. In queste circostanze, l'arte della scrittura e della redazione dei diplomi era rarissima nel regno ungherese. Quelli che avevano il compito di occuparsi della redazione „*in mundum*” erano gli stranieri chiamati in Pannonia e “stipendiati” appositamente per aiutare le autorità tribali convertite al cristianesimo a mettere in atto un minimo di amministrazione regia di natura patrimoniale. Il grande ritardo culturale del primitivo regno ungherese, così come si desume dalle fonti diplomatiche, è testimoniato anche dal fatto che la regia cancelleria fu creata soltanto alla fine del XII secolo. Gli amanuensi delle prime generazioni che si occupavano della redazione dei diplomi (pochissimi rispetto ad altre dinastie della *Christianitas*) erano nella stragrande maggioranza non ungheresi. Questo rendeva, ad esempio, estremamente difficile la riproduzione linguistica dei molti antroponomi censiti nelle fonti diplomatiche, dal momento che le competenze culturali e linguistiche dello *scriptor* che riceveva l'informazione erano difformi o poco congruenti con quelle della persona che si presentava con il suo *nomen*. Particolari difficoltà sorgevano nella declinazione dell'identità nel caso di diplomi che riguardavano nomi o personaggi della gerarchia minore del regno. Tenendo conto di questa situazione, agli inizi del XII secolo, l'alto clero del regno magiario (per la stragrande maggioranza di origine non ungherese³), inizia ad esprimere, per mezzo di testi approvati nelle assemblee sinodali, la propria preoccupazione di garantire al clero del regno una minima preparazione intellettuale⁴. Il concilio riunito dal re Kalman nell'anno 1114 a Esztergom, lamentava l'inferiorità intellettuale del clero magiario, esortando i preti ad impadronirsi di una minima preparazione *de lectura et cantus*. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins si domanda legittimamente: «*Pourquoi ce retard d'un siècle par rapport à la date de la conversion officielle des Hongrois, sous saint Étienne?*»

³ Anche nel Trecento continua il fenomeno delle nomine vescovili non ungheresi nelle sedi del regno ungherese angioino. Nel 1321 fu nominato arcivescovo di Esztergom, Boleslao, il cognato polacco di Carlo Roberto; nel 1337 viene nominato vescovo di Győr un figlio bastardo dello stesso Carlo Roberto. La presenza e l'accoglienza dei non-ungheresi in Pannonia è uno dei motivi della leggenda del re fondatore Stefano-Vaik: “*Sicut enim ex diversis partibus et provinciis veniunt hospites, ita diversas linguas et consuetudines, diversaque documenta et arma secum ducunt, quae omnia regna ornant et magnificant aulam et perterritant exterorum arrogantiam. Nam unius linguae uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est*”.

⁴ Per una prospettiva ungherese moderata sulla correlazione tra il dirrito canonico e l'educazione del clero nel regno arpadiano da vedere Zoltan Kosztolnyik, *The Influence of Canon law on Royal Legislation and the Education of Churchmen in Hungary During the XII-XIII Centuries*, in *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Catania, 30 July-6 August 2000*, edited by Manlio Bellomo and Orazio Condorelli, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, p. 593-604.

Dans les premières décennies de la Hongrie chrétienne, la question de la formation du clergé chargé de la pastorale ne se posait encore: les prêtres animant les lieux du culte venaient presque tous de l'étranger et ils avaient été formés dans les écoles de leur monastère d'origine»⁵.

Per più di due secoli non si registrarono grandi progressi, come risulta dal testo sinodale approvato dal concilio di Esztergom nel 1382, dove viene fissato l'obbligo per i candidati al sacerdozio di sostenere un esame per dimostrare la propria capacità di leggere e cantare in latino (*bene sciant cantare et legere*)⁶.

Un altro aspetto interessante, poco considerato dalla storiografia romena, è dato dal fatto che alcuni degli amanuensi che funzionavano nelle cancellerie, anche se di estrazione etnica ungherese, si erano specializzati nelle scuole e nelle università straniere, quindi avevano la tendenza ad utilizzare gli stereotipi di redazione tipici dell'ambito culturale che avevano frequentato in precedenza.

I dignitari ecclesiastici, così come sono censiti nei documenti dei secoli XI-XII, sono soltanto vescovi e prepositi, perchè erano gli unici che avevano accesso alla redazione ed alla sottoscrizione dei diplomi. L'antroponomia vescovile dei diplomi che fanno riferimento alle parti transilvane o che contengono nomi di presuli transilvani è variegata e non può essere ricondotta ad una uniformità onomastica o ad una omogeneità etnica. Le carriere vescovili nella *Christianitas* – ed il regno ungherese anche se periferico non costituisce un'eccezione –, sono dettate da interessi che superano i confini dell'etnicità e che si fondano, invece, sul principio dell'ubbidienza e dell'utilità per i sovrani arpadiani e, più di rado in quell'epoca, per gli interessi di Roma, oppure su principi meritocratici (anche se nel caso ungherese è più difficile osservare questo aspetto), o ancora si fondano sul rapporto personale che il vescovo intrattiene con uno degli attori del potere ecclesiale o laico ungherese o non ungherese. Nel caso dei monarchi magiari, le nomine vescovili vengono fatte, nei secoli XI-XII, senza particolari ingerenze da parte delle autorità romane. I re ungheresi sino alla seconda metà del XII secolo si implicano di rado nelle nomine prelatizie e le scelte competono in genere ai capitoli delle cattedrali, essendo poi sottoposte all'assenso da parte del re. I sovrani magiari hanno appoggiato, però, il reclutamento, all'interno del corpo vescovile della Chiesa missionaria in Pannonia, di persone che potevano sostenere i loro sforzi di aggregazione politica, senza badare alla loro etnia (si sa, del resto, che il fenomeno della evangelizzazione o della fondazione delle strutture religiose anticipa di gran lunga la presenza amministrativa degli organismi politici). Più precisamente, le

⁵ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *La formation du clergé paroissial en Hongrie sous les rois angevins*, in *Formation intellectuelle et culture du clergé dans les territoires angevins (milieu du XIIIe-fin du XV siècle*, sous la direction de Marie-Madeleine de Cevins et Jean-Michel Matz, École Française de Rome, 2005, p.51.

⁶*Ibidem*, p.52.

scelte dei sovrani magiari cercavano di tenersi il più possibile lontano dalle varie discordie o alleanze tribali, che potevano destare malumore, oppure ledere o diminuire la propria autorità nominale all'interno del regno patrimoniale. Riflettendo questo gioco di interessi, l'antroponimia dei presuli dell'alta gerarchia della chiesa missionaria ungherese contiene elementi provenienti da diversi comparti onomastici, tra i quali si possono distinguere quello latino-romanzo, quello greco-slavo e quello germanico. Non si può, ovviamente, escludere l'elemento ungherese, che è presente, però, in quantità minore e assai poco significativa nel processo delle nomine prelatizie⁷. Si dovrà, tuttavia, tenere conto del fatto che, in assenza di nomi di alto prestigio cristiano, all'interno del patrimonio antroponimico magiario furono ripresi appellativi consacrati dall'onomastica cristiana. I più significativi documenti diplomatici che trattano delle realtà onomastiche della fine dell'XI secolo sono, ai fini della presente ricerca, le due conferme di proprietà monastiche del 1111 e del 1113, per mezzo delle quali il re magiario Kalman confermava un diploma del primo re riconosciuto dall'imperatore Ottone III, Stefano (il cui nome pagano era Vaik), che donava la terza parte dei redditi doganali al monastero benedettino di Zobor (in terra slovacca). La sequenza degli antroponimi vescovili ricordati nel 1111 e riproposti nel 1113 in un secondo diploma, che riguardava una coscrizione di villaggi nella proprietà del medesimo monastero, riflette la costellazione confessionale e culturale del corpo vescovile del recente regno tribale: Giorgio, episcopo di Győr (1111), Lorenzo, episcopo di Cenad (1111), Matteo, episcopo di Veszprém (1111), Marcello, episcopo di Vác (1111), Paolo, arcivescovo di Calocsa/Kalocsa (1111), Simione, episcopo di Transilvania (1111), Simone, episcopo di Pecs (1111), Sisto, episcopo di Bihor (1111), Stefano, episcopo di Cenad, Wölfer, episcopo di Agria (1111). I prepositi sono Feliciano e Roberto⁸. Nel diploma successivo, del 1113, l'unico cambiamento che interviene è lo spostamento del vescovo Sisto da Bihor (Biharea?) a Varad (odierna Oradea), essendo questa la prima menzione del toponimo *Varad*, che in ungherese indica una piccola città o una fortezza.

Anche senza particolari prospezioni filologiche, si può notare che i nomi imposti ai presuli alla fine dell'XI secolo non sono ungheresi, riflettendo, invece, chiaramente la diversa composizione del clero e la sua primordiale estrazione

⁷ Ricordiamo che nella prima schiera di santi ungheresi approvati da Gregorio VII per *l'elevatio corporis*, sono ungheresi soltanto il re Stefano e suo figlio Imre, gli altri essendo tutti stranieri a cominciare dal veneziano Gerardo.

⁸ Sono ricordati ovviamente anche dei laici come Ivano palatino, Saul, comite di Bihor, Tomasso, comite di Alba, Thebaldo, comite di Somogyi, Queletde, comite di Bács e Mercurio *princeps ultra silvanus*. Tutti gli antroponimi dei laici menzionati, tranne Queletde, sono appartenenti ad altre culture onomastiche che quella ungherese. Per evidenziare nomi genuini ungheresi bisogna leggere un diploma del 2 settembre 1138 che ricorda tali Subu, Halaldi, Maradek, Gucur, Ceuse, Forcos, Embel, Vosos, Numeruk, Bise, Pedur, Wendeg, Kewereg, Niundi, Aianduk, Buken etc.

confessionale. Simione, Matteo, Giorgio e probabilmente anche Gregorio sono di tradizione greca, mentre Marcello e Sisto sono di chiara matrice romano-latina. Lorenzo e Simone sono assegnabili ad entrambe le tradizioni onomastiche. Wölfer conferma la presenza istituzionale dell'elemento germanico all'interno delle istituzioni del regno in Pannonia. Fondiamo le nostre osservazioni sulle analisi dei vari elenchi di antroponomi censiti nei diversi territori della *Christianitas*, che stabiliscono chiaramente che i nomi Giorgio, Simeone, Matteo e Gregorio si affermano nell'onomastica occidentale soltanto a partire dalla fine del XII secolo e dagli inizi del secolo successivo, e comunque in maniera molto limitata. Una situazione particolare è quella dell'antroponomo Gregorio, che fu usato da diversi pontefici, come ad esempio, per il periodo che qui ci riguarda, da Gregorio VII. Si tratta di un nome atipico per il rito latino, che si fonda sull'archetipo rappresentato da Gregorio Magno, rafforzato in seguito dalla personalità di Gregorio VII. Tuttavia, all'infuori dell'onomastica papale e di quella romana, resta una scelta abbastanza rara.

Se al nostro ragionamento aggiungiamo le tesi sostenute da Agnès Gerhards⁹ sul cristianesimo bi-rituale del regno magiaro e sulla collaborazione dei re ungheresi coi monaci orientali, che popolavano i monasteri dei territori su cui si estendeva l'autorità nominale dei successori di Stefano, tesi corroborate dai manoscritti invocati dallo storico ungherese Bàan István e confermate dal *typikon* del monastero greco di Veszprémvölgy fondato da Gisella, sposa del re Stefano¹⁰, avremo un'immagine chiarissima e incontestabile dell'atmosfera culturale e rituale che caratterizzava la Pannonia occidentale e la zona di Veszprém e, in misura ancora maggiore, la Transilvania.

Ritornando al confronto tra il documento del 1113 e quello del 1111, possiamo osservare soltanto un cambiamento di natura aggettivale tra il *Sixtus bichariensis* del 1111 e il *Sixtus varadiensis* del 1113. Questa aggettivazione, apparentemente semplice, mette in evidenza un fenomeno che ha caratterizzato la genesi delle diocesi transilvane di configurazione latina, che si sono sovrapposte a strutture ecclesiali preesistenti di rito greco-slavo. Si parla, in questi casi, dei cosiddetti vescovati itineranti della Transilvania che sono quelli

⁹“L'influence du monachisme grec se manifeste par l'existence de monasteres doubles peuplés de religieux grecs et latins qui vivent dans la même communauté, les premiers sous la règle de saint Basile, évêque de Césarée en Cappadoce au IV^e siècle et fondateur du monachisme grec, les seconds sous celle de saint Benoît. Ce type de organisation persiste jusqu'au XIV^e siècle. Mais des monastères exclusivement grecs se multiplient notamment dans la vallée de Veszprem au sud-ouest de Budapest. L'influence grecque se manifeste aussi par l'installation de mouvements érémitiques venus d'Italie du Sud. Ce courant est représenté par Nil de Rosanno (910-1005), représentatif d'un monachisme grec très marqué par l'anachorétisme et du a l'influence de Byzance en Italie du Sud”. Agnès Gerhards, *Dictionnaire historique des ordres religieux*, Fayard, Paris, 1998, p. 305

¹⁰János Bak, *Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary*, in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed A. Duggan, The Boydell Press, 1997, p. 224

di Biharea-Oradea (Varad), Morisena-Cenad (in questo caso si tratta di una sovrapposizione di un vescovato di estrazione latina su di un monastero greco), Dăbâca-Gilău-Alba Iulia. Le ricerche intraprese recentemente da alcuni dei più seri bizantinisti ungheresi hanno messo in luce una nuova dimensione storica, all'interno della quale si deve collocare la fondazione della cosiddetta metropoli di "Tourkia", cioè la metropoli missionaria costantinopolitana in mezzo agli ungheresi. Nel 1996, in occasione del diciannovesimo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini svoltosi a Copenagha, Baán Istvan, sintetizzando questo filone di ricerche, ha dimostrato, senza ombra di dubbio, in base alla testimonianza di tre codici medioevali, il codice *Athon Esphigmenou* 131, f. 61 r-v, *Athon Dionysiou* 120, f. 701-703 v e *Parisinus graecus* 48, f. 255 v - 263 v, la presenza di una metropoli di rito greco all'interno del regno ungherese sotto la giurisdizione del Patriarcato di Costantinopoli nei secoli XI-XII. Questi riferimenti sono confermati dal *typikon* del monastero di Vézspremvölgy e risolvono, secondo lo storico ungherese, l'enigma della fondazione del secondo arcivescovato magiario, quello di Calocsa/Kalocsa. Se si guarda nell'elenco costantinopolitano delle diocesi, il cosiddetto *taxis*, si può osservare come la metropoli della *Tourkia* sia seguita direttamente da quella della *Rhōsia*. Questa posizione all'interno del *taxis* non è casuale, se si considera lo sviluppo parallelo della missione costantinopolitana in Pannonia ed in Russia. Si ritiene che gli episcopati posizionati aldilà della parte orientale della Pannonia, cioè quelli di Cenad¹¹, Bihor-Oradea e Transilvania, fossero suffraganei di questa metropoli. L'opinione di Baán si fonda sulla circostanza che, assieme all'arcivescovato di Calocsa/Kalocsa, tutti e tre gli episcopati transilvani ricordati non hanno documenti (*chartae*) di fondazione¹², contrariamente a quelli situati in Pannonia. La sede della metropoli di Tourkia/ arcivescovato di Kalocsa è dall'inizio occupata da gerarchi greci come Ioannes (1028), Antonios oppure Georgios. Il primo arcivescovo di rito latino, di nome Desiderius, compare soltanto nel 1075. La metropoli greca si è trasformata poi definitivamente in un arcivescovato latino nel corso del XII secolo. Per interpretare le dinamiche politico-ecclesiologiche della lenta e progressiva trasformazione delle strutture ecclesiali

¹¹ Primo vescovo di Cenad, il celebre Gerardo, detto anche Sagredo, monaco benedettino, arriva a Cenad come fondatore, avendo dietro alle spalle l'esperienza veneziana in cui la convivenza col rito greco era un dato di fatto.

¹² Gyula Kristó afferma, senza una base documentaria, che "The fourth Latin rite bishopric (mi domando cosa significhi questa formula, visto che l'uniformizzazione rituale interviene dopo il pontificato di Gregorio VII ed è sancita definitivamente dal Concilio Laterano IV) to be founded in Hungary was probably the one in Transylvania. It is in itself remarkable that this is the only one of Stephen' dioeceses not named after its seat but after a territory... in Transylvania an Eastern rite missionary diocese was replaced with a Latin rite episcopate?! by Stephen". G. Kristó, *The Bishopric of Saint Stephen, King of Hungary*, in *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, edita Violeta Barbu, Editura Kriterion, București, 1998, p. 57, 59.

di rito greco-slavo in vescovati di rito latino, Baán suggerisce una vicinanza tra questo modello ecclesiale e quello dell'Italia meridionale, anche se, in questa parte dell'Europa, esso resta un modello presoché unico¹³. Se per Calocsa/Kalocsa il passaggio, pur lento, dal rito greco al rito latino ha funzionato in maniera sicura e lineare, sicuramente per i vescovati transilvani di Cenad, Oradea o Alba-Iulia la trasformazione è avvenuta in modo meno rapido ed omogeneo, come testimoniato dal perdurare di ambiguità rituali od onomastiche. Solo così si spiega la presenza di un Zosimus come vescovo di Oradea (1259-1265)¹⁴, di un Basileo Cenadiensi, vescovo di Cenad nel 1240¹⁵ o di un preposito di Alba-Iulia chiamato Constantinus¹⁶.

Il diploma del 1113, che viene celebrato come certificato “di nascita” della città di Oradea, ci porta in un'epoca lontana della storia europea e ci testimonia della fondazione, ai confini orientali della *Christianitas*, di una città di frontiera, con una vocazione di cerniera culturale e linguistica e, solo molto più tardi, etnica.

¹³ Baán Istvan, *La métropole de Tourkia. L'organisation de l'Eglise byzantine en Hongrie au Moyen Âge*, in *Byzantium, Identity, Image, Influence, Abstracts, XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, University of Copenhagen, 18-24 august 1996*, Eventus, Copenhagen, 1996.

¹⁴ *Documente privind Istoria României, Veacul XIII, C. Transilvania*, vol II (1251-1300), Editura Academiei RSR, București, 1952 p. 58.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 416.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 329.

AN IMAGE OF THE SOCIETY IN NORTH-WESTERN ROMANIA DURING THE 10TH-11TH CENTURIES A.D.

Florin SFRENGEU*

Abstract. *This article presents historical and archaeological information on the 10th - 11th centuries AD, in north-western Romania, revealing that the number of rural settlements had decreased significantly compared to the previous period, during the eighth and ninth centuries. Archaeologically, a number of 27 earth fortifications were identified, some being systematically investigated, as it was the case of the earth fortress of Biharea. A series of written information that can help us restore an image of the period and the area investigated, is offered by the chronicle of Anonymus. North-western Romania was part of the duchy of Menumorut, set between Tisza, Mureş, Someş and Western Carpathians, with its residence in the fortress of Byhor. Along Romanian native population, other populations gradually penetrated on this territory: the Kozars, the Hungarians, the Szeklers and the Pechenegs. After the establishment of the Hungarian state, a county was established on the territory of Menumorut's duchy in the second half of the eleventh century, with its seat in Biharea, which was later moved to Oradea. The article also focuses on several aspects regarding the bishopric of Bihor.*

Keywords: *interethnic relations, fortifications, rural settlements, county, bishopric, Biharea, Anonymus.*

The period of the 10th-11th centuries is known, primarily, due to research made during the last 6-7 decades to which archaeology has greatly contributed. A statistics of the number of settlements classified in the 8th-11th centuries on the north-western territory of Romania was recently made by archaeologist I. Crişan, who maps a total of 133 archaeological sites for the eighth and ninth centuries, of which 128 are village type settlements and 5 caves. During the ninth and tenth centuries, the number of settlements is smaller, only 61 rural settlements and three caves being mapped¹. For the 10th-11th centuries, the same archaeologist found a

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decreased number of settlements: 45, of which 43 were village type and two were caves². In the plains the demographic concentration was higher, to be noted though that many settlements were located in the upper basins of the rivers in the north-west, in the hilly areas, close to the mountains. Settlements were located near rivers or water sources, valleys of the main rivers being the main means of communication. Lowland settlements occupied the higher level, the wooded part, as well as the swampy area levees, places that were easier to be defended, providing favourable conditions for living. Settlements were located on the hillside terraces on the slope or at the base of the hills, places which were naturally well-protected and surrounded by forests. The large number of settlements in certain regions is due perhaps to the archaeologists interested in studying them (i.e.: the Crișul Repede and Biharia area, the Carei, Barcău and Crasna areas), while certain areas have not been yet sufficiently archaeologically investigated.

A series of written information that can help us restore a picture of the period in question is offered by Anonymus' chronicle, on which a lot has been written, the opinions being controversial³. The anonymous chronicler also mentions the political parties led by Menumorut, Glad and Gelu. From these reports, together with news from other chronicles, supplemented by the results of recent archaeological research, a historical picture of the political parties aforementioned was built, which was also restored by historian Ioan-Aurel Pop from Cluj, in a work of synthesis, seriously argued with a rich historical and archaeological literature⁴.

¹ I. Crișan, *Așezări rurale medievale din Crișana (secolele X-XIII)*, Oradea, 2006, p. 19-20 and annexes 1 from p. 265-271 and 2 from p. 272. The territory under consideration has the following geographical boundaries: River Mureș in the south, River Someș in the north, west border with Hungary and the Apuseni Mountains to the east, including Sylvania located between the Plopișului Mountains and the Meseșului Mountains.

² *Ibidem*, p. 38.

³ Of the extensive works that largely reflect the issue of the historical, geographical and literary value of his work, we mention: St. Brezeanu, "Romani" și "Blachi" la Anonymus. *Istorie și ideologie politică*, in *Romanitatea orientală în Evul Mediu*, Bucharest, 1999; Idem, „Începuturile românilor și maghiarilor în Transilvania. Tradiție savantă și memorie populară medievală”, in *Identități și solidarități medievale. Controverse istorice*, Bucharest, 2002; V. Ciocâltan, „Observații referitoare la românii din Cronica notarului anonim al regelui Béla”, in *RI*, 40, No. 5, 1987; Al. Madgearu, *Românii în opera Notarului Anonim*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001; Idem, *The Romanians in the Anonymous Gesta Hungarorum. Truth and Fiction*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005; C. A. Macartney, *Studies on the Early Hungarian Historical Sources*, Budapest, 1940; Györy J., *Gesta regum – gesta nobilium*, Budapest, 1948; Györfy Gy., *Kronikáink és a magyaröstörténet*, Budapest, 1948; Idem, „Abfassungszeit, Autorschaft und Glaubwürdigkeit der Gesta Hungarorum des Anonymen Notars”, in *AAASH*, XX, 1972, p. 209-229; Kristó Gy., „Rómaiak és vlachok Nyestornál és Anonymusnál”, in *Századok*, 112, No. 4, 1978, p. 623-661; T. Sălăgean, *Țara lui Gelou. Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei de nord în secolele IX-XI*, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

⁴ I. A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania*, IInd edition, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, (hereinafter I. A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii*). See also the ample study of V. Spinei, „Migrația ungarilor în spațiul carpato-dunărean și contactele lor cu românii în secolele IX-X”, in *Arh Mold*, X, Iași, 1990, p. 103-148.

North-western Romania was part of the duchy of Menumorut, on which Anonymus spoke in chapters 19-22, 28, 50-52, and was situated between Tisza, Mureș, Someș and Western Carpathians with its residence in the *Byhor* city. Analyzing the stories in these chapters of Anonymus' chronicle, Ioan-Aurel Pop shows that the war against the Crișana Duchy had three stages:

“- The first military expedition from north-east to south-east, led to attacks on the territory of rivers Er and Someș, with the Sătmăr city up to the Meseș Mountains and up to Zalău;

- The second is a continuation of the first expedition in the north-east to north-west along the river Er, ending with the defeat of the Hungarian tribe at Szeghalom;

- Third, when the vanguard was composed of Szeklers, was oriented from south to northeast and led to the fall and plunder of the fortress of Biharea”⁵. The Hungarians' fights with the native population were listed for each step. According to Anonymus the Hungarians had some difficulties in defeating the local resistance, in spite of the fact that the latter were seized with fear and dread⁶.

According to a piece of information from Notary Anonymus' chronicle *Gesta Hungarorum* (Anonymus' Chronicle) in Menumorut's duchy there lived a population named *Cozar* “The land though that spreads between Tisza and the Ygfon forest, located towards Transylvania, from the river Mureș to the river Someș was occupied for himself by the Duke Morout, whose nephew was called by the Hungarians Menumorut because he had more wives and because this territory was inhabited by some nations called Cozar”⁷. Analyzing the ethnic structure of Menumorut's duchy, Ion-Aurel Pop concludes that, “it was the following: Romanians, descendants of the Geto-Dacians, Romanized during the Roman rule and later (a part of the duchy was incorporated into Roman Dacia), Slavs, Bulgarians, Avars arrived here as a result of migrations and of the extending of the temporary domination of *barbarous* states in Pannonia; Szeklers, Khazars, linked to the Hungarians' invasion, but probably present in the middle Plain of Danube and Tisza before this invasion”⁸.

An interesting analysis of Menumorut's duchy was conducted by researcher Alexander Madgearu from Bucharest. In connection with the Cozars,

⁵ I. A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii*, p. 135.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Faptele ungarilor (Gesta Hungarorum)*, de Secretarul anonim al regelui Bela, in *Izvoarele istoriei românilor (Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanorum)*, vol. I, traducere de G. Popa-Lisseanu, București, 1934, ediție îngrijită și prefată de I. Oprea, București, 2010, p. 115.

⁸ I. A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii*, p. 139. For the ethno-confessional situation in Transylvania and Hungary see the recent work by the same author: „Testimonies on the Ethno-Confessional Structure of Medieval Transylvania and Hungary (9th – 14th centuries)”, in *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XIX, Supplement No. 1, 2010, *Pursuing Diversity. Demographic Realities and Ethno-Confessional Structure in Transylvania*, p. 9-41.

mentioned in the text of Anonymus' Chronicle, he makes some pertinent observations: "Kozars are identical to Khazars from the Don area, which adopted the Judaic religion and created a strong state in the 7th-9th centuries in the North Pont steppes. The Kozars or the Kavars probably came to the Tisza basin in the ninth century, driven by wars with the Arabs that led to the decline of the Khazar state"⁹. It is possible, as shown by Alexander Madgearu, that the Kavars' penetration might have stimulated the organization of a politico-military formation in Crișana, the nomads being considered a catalyst factor in the development of some countries in south-east and east of Europe¹⁰.

In the north-west of Romania, on the territory of present-day counties of: Arad, Bihor, Satu Mare and Sălaj, 27 fortifications were reported, chronologically classified, from case to case, to belong to the 8th-12th centuries. Some archaeologists believe that three fortifications had been built during the eighth and ninth centuries, out of which two were not investigated and have uncertain dating: Vârfurile¹¹ with unspecified place of discovery, and Zimandul Nou¹². Biharea is one of the few earth fortresses which have benefited from systematic excavations¹³. The inception of six fortifications is placed during the

⁹ Al. Madgearu, „Voievodatul lui Menumorout în lumina cercetărilor recente” in *Analele Universității din Oradea, History-Archeology Series*, Tome XI, 2001, p. 40

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 41. The same author stated in the book *Românii în opera Notarului Anonim* at p. 137, concerning the Kabars, the following: “A recent archaeological study delineates a territory in the north-west of Crișana, where they found traces of these Kabars, indisputably dated before 896. They are probably the *Cumans* about whom *Gesta Hungarorum* states that they created troublesome to Gelou. Is it possible for them to be the ancestors of the Szeklers, who originally lived in the area. Crișana was conquered by these Kabars or Kozars sometime in the second half of the ninth century. The “Old Hungarian” tombs in Biharea may belong, in fact, to these “Kozars”. One of them (No. 5) contains a part of a belt dated in Dörrlamm phase I, before 896. Menumorut himself was probably of Kabar origin, thus explaining the fact that, according to Notary Anonymous, he was a polygamist. At Galošpetreu, in Bihor County, a tomb dating from the 10th century was found, which by its inventory can be attributed to a Turkish-like population”.

¹¹ M. Zdroba, M. Barbu, „Săpăturile arheologice de la Felnac și Vladimirescu”, in *Ziridava*, VI, Arad, 1976, p. 51; I. Crișan, *Așezări rurale medievale din Crișana (secolele X-XIII)*, Oradea, 2006, p. 217.

¹² E. Glück, *Contribuții privind părțile arădene în secolele IX-X*, in *Studii privind istoria Aradului*, Bucharest, 1980, p. 123.

¹³ S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea. Săpăturile arheologice din anii 1973-1980*, Oradea, 1994; F. Sfrengeu, “Settlements from 8th-9th Centuries Discovered within the Soil Fortress at Biharea”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, History-Archeology Series*, XVIII, 2008, p. 7-12; S. Dumitrașcu, F. Sfrengeu, Mihaela Goman, „Săpăturile arheologice din vara anului 1998 la Biharea – „Cetatea de pământ””, in *Crișana Antiqua et Mediaevalia*, I, Oradea, 2000, p. 63-73; F. Sfrengeu, „Cercetările arheologice de la Biharea „Cetatea de pământ” (zona de vest) din anii 1999-2000”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, History-Archeology Series*, XII, 2002, p. 19-24; Idem, „Săpăturile arheologice din 2001-2002 de la Biharea – Cetatea de pământ (zona de sud)”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, History-Archeology Series*, XIV, 2004, p. 11-18.

9th-10th centuries: Beliu - Trei Cruci¹⁴ - unexamined, Grăniceri - Cetate¹⁵ - perhaps, Moigrad - Dealul Cămnini¹⁶, Sebiș - Troianul¹⁷, Vladimirescu - La Cetate¹⁸, Zărand - La Bisericuță¹⁹. These fortifications continue their existence in the eleventh century too. 10 other fortifications are dated from the tenth and eleventh centuries: Cheud-Dealul Cetate²⁰, Halmăjd-La Zamca²¹, Medieșul Aurit-Castel²², Ortelec-Cetate²³, Pâncota-Cetatea turcească²⁴, Petreu-Cetatea dinăuntru²⁵, Șimleul Silvaniei-Cetate²⁶, Șimleul Silvaniei-Observator²⁷, Tăuș-Dealul Rujelor²⁸, Zalnoc-Cetate²⁹. In the case of eight fortifications, the inception is placed in the early eleventh century: Bodrogu Vechi-Grădiște³⁰, Bulci-Cetate³¹,

¹⁴ Fl. Dudaș, *Zărandul. Chipuri și fapte din trecut*, Bucharest, 1981, p. 26; *Repertoriul arheologic al Mureșului Inferior*, Timișoara, 1999, p. 44.

¹⁵ I. Crișan, *op. cit.*, p. 151-152.

¹⁶ M. Rusu, *Cetatea Moigrad și Porțile Meseșului*, in *Sub semnul lui Clio. Omagiu acad. Șt. Pascu*, Cluj, 1974, p.266-268; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X d.H.*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002 (hereinafter C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*), p. 201-202.

¹⁷ *Repertoriul arheologic al Mureșului Inferior*, Timișoara, 1999, p. 115.

¹⁸ M. Barbu, „Săpăturile de la Arad-Vladimirescu. Campania 1979”, in *Ziridava*, XII, 1980, p. 151-163; Barbu, M., Zdroba M., „Noi cercetări privind cetatea de pământ de la Vladimirescu”, in *Ziridava*, VIII, 1977, p. 17-28; Idem, „Șantierul arheologic Arad-Vladimirescu. Campania 1977”, in *Ziridava*, X, 1978, p. 101-121; Idem, „Cercetările arheologice de la Arad-Vladimirescu. Campania 1978”, in *Ziridava*, XI, 1979, p. 181-193.

¹⁹ M. Rusu, „Cetățile transilvănene din secolele IX-XI și importanța lor istorică”, in *Ziridava*, X, 1978, p. 161-162; *Repertoriul arheologic al Mureșului Inferior*, Timișoara, 1999, p. 138-139.

²⁰ A. Medeve, „Cadrlul natural al fortificațiilor de la Cheud”, in *AMP*, XVI, 1992, p. 383-388; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României...*, p. 185.

²¹ C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României...*, p. 193.

²² S. Dumitrașcu, „Săpăturile arheologice de la Medieșul Aurit-Castel”, in *Crisia*, IV, 1974, p. 101-106.

²³ C. Cosma, „Fortificații din secolele X-XI din vestul și nord-vestul României. Considerații privind stadiul actual al cercetărilor”, in *AMP*, XXIII, 2000, I, p. 472-475; Idem, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 210-212.

²⁴ M. Blăjan, E. Dörner, „Probleme de demografie istorică pe baza studiului căldărușelor de lut (sec. XI-XII), descoperite pe teritoriul județului Arad”, in *Ziridava*, X, 1978, p. 128; I. Crișan, *op. cit.*, p. 174-175.

²⁵ *Repertoriul monumentelor din județul Bihor*, Oradea, 1974, p. 54.

²⁶ C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României...*, p. 232.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

²⁸ E. D. Pădureanu, „Noi fortificații pe teritoriul județului Arad”, in *Ziridava*, XV-XVI, 1987, p. 33; *Rep. arh. al Mureșului Inferior*, p. 126.

²⁹ M. Rusu, *op. cit.*, P. Iambor, „Izvoarele istorice și terminologia privind așezările fortificate din secolele IX-XIII”, in *AMN*, 1989-1993, 26-30, p. 20; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României...*, p. 241; I. Crișan, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

³⁰ E. D. Pădureanu, „Noi fortificații pe teritoriul jud. Arad”, in *Ziridava*, 15-16, 1987, p.29-31; *Rep. arh. al Mureșului Inferior*, p. 45.

³¹ M. Blăjan, E. Dörner, *op. cit.*, p.124; *Rep. arh. al Mureșului Inferior*, p. 47.

Căpleni-Pământul regesc³², Cladova-Dealul Carierei³³, Cuvin-Cetate³⁴, Marca-Cetate³⁵, Oradea-Cetate³⁶, Zalău-Poligon³⁷.

Fortifications were placed, geographically, in several places: on the highest river terraces or on the hills' plateaus in the meeting area of the piedmonts with the plain (Beliu, Bodrogu Vechi, Căpleni, Cladova, Oradea, Pâncota, Tăuț, Vladimirescu, Zărand), on the flat interfluvium (grind) formed by the Ceșmeu's stream courses, the former riverbed of Crișul Repede (Crișul Mic, clogged today) and Barcău on the north (Biharea). A similar situation is seen with the Petreu and Medieșul Aurit fortresses. Other fortifications are located on slopes or hills' terraces and wooded hills (Cheud, Halmăjd, Marca, Moigrad, Ortelec, Sebiș, Șimleul Silvaniei - Cetate and Observator, Zălnoc).

In terms of planimetrics, fortifications were classified into several types:

1. quadrilateral fortifications (eg. Biharea, Pâncota, Zărand with a rectangular plan, Vladimirescu and Cladova with trapezoidal plan);
2. fortifications which adopted the terrain's configuration (eg. Cheud, Moigrad, Ortelec, Șimleul Silvaniei-Cetate and Observator);
3. circular fortifications (Halmăjd)³⁸.

M. Rusu believes that the emergence of early medieval fortifications "is primarily the result of economic and social changes occurring within the local population. Undoubtedly these factors were also influenced by the favourable historical circumstances and repeated incursions or displacement of populations coming from different directions, which led the locals to build fortifications, behind which they had to defend their fortune and their being"³⁹.

³² Némethi J., *Repertoriul arheologic al zonei Careiului*, București, 1999, p. 78-79.

³³ V. Boroneanț, „Considerații asupra locuirii feudale de la Cladova”, jud. Arad, în *Ziridava*, X, 1978, X, p. 139-157; Idem, „Considerații asupra locuirii feudale de la Cladova, jud. Arad, în lumina descoperirilor arheologice și a unor noi investigații arheologice”, în *Ziridava*, 1982, XIV, p.109-115; V. Boroneanț, P. Hurezan, „Cetatea de la Cladova – Reședința voievozului Transilvaniei – Pousa”, în *Ziridava*, XV-XVI, 1987, p. 67-74; *Rep. arh. al Mureșului Inferior*, p. 56-57; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 186-187.

³⁴ *Rep. arh. al Mureșului Inferior*, p. 64.

³⁵ S. Dumitrașcu, V. Lucăcel, *Cetatea dacică de la Marca (jud. Sălaj)*, Zalău, 1974, p. 13, 24-25.

³⁶ A. A. Rusu, „Cercetări arheologice în cetatea Oradea. Sinteza preliminară a anilor 1991-1993”, în *Crisia*, XXIII, 1993, p. 59-84; D. Marta, *Cetatea Oradea. De la începuturi până la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea*, Oradea, 2013.

³⁷ D. Băcuț Crișan, S. Băcuț Crișan, *Cercetări arheologice pe teritoriul orașului Zalău*, Zalău, 2003, p. 30, 46.

³⁸ C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 42-54. The author presents the general aspects of density and geographic location, typology by planimetrics, construction system, planimetric analogies and constructive systems, fortifications chronology problems, functionality and ethnic attribution. Please note that all fortifications analyzed in the mentioned work are chronologically placed in the early tenth century, Biharea is placed early in this century, and other fortifications in the second half or even in the eleventh century (p.47-53 and annex 2.2 from p.248).

³⁹ M. Rusu, „Cetățile transilvănene din secolele IX-XI și importanța lor istorică”, în *Ziridava*, X, 1978, p. 161-162.

We do not exclude the possibility of some of these fortifications being constructed by the Hungarians or at their direction, especially in the case of those dated from the second half of the tenth century, “Hungarians being those who, in the tenth century, set their eastern limits at the Poarta Meseşului, where they build reinforcements to defend the borders”⁴⁰. The fights between Hungarians and Pechenegs in the first decades of the eleventh century are considered to be the cause of the end of the fortifications, but it must be noted that in this period the Hungarian Kingdom’s systematic military campaigns of conquest against Transylvania begin. Fortifications in North-Western Romania, following the conquest of new territories, lose their original functionality, some becoming county seats after the second half of the eleventh century, when they appear in the documents.

The archaeological excavations carried out since the early twentieth century, continued to this day, showed that in the archaeological site of Biharea, village located about 10 km north of Oradea it was located the main fortification of Menumorut’s duchy, *Byhor*. The fortress currently has an impressive appearance, with waves of earth about 30 feet thickness at the base and ditches on three sides, almost 20 meters wide, rectangular with sides of approximately 150 x 115 meters.

The archaeological research at Biharea confirms “the existence of the Bihor Principality of Menumorut in Crişana, with the canvas settlements as ethno-demographic basis - villages, fairs, Romanian and Romanian-Slavic cities in this part of Romania”⁴¹. This research led primarily to the discovery of the indigenous Romanian culture and civilization, from the 8th -11th centuries, but also to findings belonging to population groups that entered the area, especially after the organization of the Hungarian feudal kingdom: Hungarian Szeklers, Pechenegs, Bösörmens, settled here in the 11th-13th centuries⁴².

After the fights from Biharea, for half a century there is no written information stating the presence of Hungarians and Szeklers in these places. After the death of Árpád (907), the centrifugal tendencies of the tribes’ leaders appeared and the fight for leadership began, his son, Zulta, being just a child. The one who kept the tribes’ unity through predatory expeditions in the west and south was Bulcsu, who eventually won. After 955, the Hungarian society underwent a series of changes: the tribes began to settle, the feudalism process intensified, leading eventually to the creation of the state, together with Vajk’s coronation as king in 1000, who became Stephen I (997 - 1038). He received from the papacy the mission to convert the heathens, his state being named apostolic kingdom.

⁴⁰ C. Cosma, *Vestul şi nord-vestul României...*, p. 54.

⁴¹ S. Dumitraşcu, *Biharea. Săpături arheologice (1973-1980)*, Oradea, 1994 (hereinafter S. Dumitraşcu, *Biharea*), p. 247.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 248.

During the reign of Stephen I, especially after his death, the struggles for the throne, the fights against feudalization and Christianization dominated the political life of the kingdom. The Roman Empire of the German nation got mixed into these disputes through the German knights, who represented the new feudal order and the new faith. The Pechenegs took advantage of the Hungarian state's weakness and undertook a series of raids and plundering expeditions in Hungary, starting from Transylvania, where they found support for their domination. The Hungarian chronicles also mention such expeditions, like the one in 1028, recorded in the chronicle of Henrich of Múgelen and another one or the same in the St. Stephen's "Small Legend"⁴³. In 1048-1049, after the great invasion of the Byzantine Empire, most of the Pechenegs were established in the south of the Danube, but the remaining groups from the north of the river stirred in the infightings in Hungary. In 1068, under the leadership of Osul (Oslu) the Pechenegs undertook a large invasion in Hungary, being finally defeated by the army of Solomon and his sons Géza and Ladislau while they were returning to Mount Chiraleş⁴⁴.

The leaders of the Hungarian aristocracy, the heads of nations and tribes became, for their military services, recipients of the properties donated by the king. Thus they were the representatives of the king in the territory, at the lead of "Castrense Counties", although after the practice of holding governing positions in partibus, they remained in the proximity of the king. Created on the ruins of Menumorut's duchy, such a Castrense county was residing in Biharea probably in the second half of the eleventh century⁴⁵.

In Hungarian historiography it is shown that counties and county commissioners, as well as bishoprics appeared on the territory where King Stephen I exercised authority. The county was named after its fortress and it was an administrative institution organized on territorial basis with established borders. The county commissioner was a semi-territorial administrative institution which dealt only with the royal possessions, but not all possessions belonged to the institution of county commissioner, only those appointed by the king to the same city. The commissioner could have had possessions outside the county too, which were under his authority. Without the county commissioner the town could not exist, but behind the commissioner there wasn't always a county. The base was the institution of county commissioner, which had a body of officials appointed by the king: the commissioner (ispán), court commissioner (udvarispán), castellan (várnagy), Lieutenant (hadnagy) and in the case of the commissioner of border cities, Major, commander of the border area (őrnagy)⁴⁶.

⁴³ Șt. Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, Vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1972, p. 83-84.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 84-85.

⁴⁵ I. A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii* p. 145.

⁴⁶ Kristó G., *Ardealul timpuriu (895-1324)*, Szeged, 2004, p. 140-141.

Hungarian historians make reference to the existence of a particular type of county, mentioned in documentary sources dating from the reign of Stephen I. It was the county border (*határvármegye*) or mark at the forefront of which it was a *comes confinii* and some part of the border overlapped on an unsafe area, being located in a less residential area, which corresponded to an ancient tribal territory, generally being given as examples the counties : Borsod, Borszova, Sopron, Bihar, Dăbâca⁴⁷.

Consisting of two parts dependent on each other, one military and one economic, the counties have in their centre a royal court or the court of the feudal lord, where the representative of one or the other lived, surrounded by *udvornics*, people at his service. In terms of politics and military, the central power was represented by the garrison occupying the fort or fortress in the territory. The economic side consisted of royal, nobility and church estates⁴⁸. Since the early years of the twelfth century, the commissioners and the counties were mentioned in the documents one by one.

The first known document on Crișana and Transylvania is a document issued by the chancery of King Géza I, in 1075, where Biharea fortress is mentioned with several villages around it (Artand,) Duboz village, situated on the river Criș, and the Turda fortress, with the mines' customs, half of which was given to the monastery of St. Benedict, as well as the people's obligations towards the same monastery⁴⁹. To the reality of the end of the eleventh century refers the *Cronica pictată de la Viena* (*The Painted Chronicle of Vienna* or *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonensae*), written in the mid fifteenth century. It is the oldest mentioning of the Várad toponymy (Oradea) in a chronicle, during King Ladislaus' reign (1077-1095). He "found in the parish of the fortress of Bihor, between the Criș rivers, while on a hunt, a place where, at the urging of angels, he decided to raise a monastery in honour of the Virgin Mary, place which he called Várad"⁵⁰. The monastery became the seat of the chapter house consisting of 24 canons and was built on the left bank of Crișul Repede, in a marshy area, and soon after, King Ladislaus founded, there, a bishopric. Later, around 1130, Ladislaus's lifeless body was brought to Oradea, probably through the efforts of the premostratensi canonical order⁵¹.

⁴⁷ Györffy Gy., *Die Entstehung der ungarischen Burgorganisation*, p. 335.

⁴⁸ Șt. Pascu, *Rezistența instituțiilor românești; transplantarea în mediul autohton a unor instituții medievale central-europene*, in *Istoria Românilor*, Vol. III, p. 395; Idem, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, Vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1972, p. 100.

⁴⁹ *Documente privind istoria României, C., veacurile XI, XII și XIII*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1951 (hereinafter *DIR*), p. 1-2.

⁵⁰ *Cronica pictată de la Viena*, in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, XI, Bucharest, 1937, p. 199.

⁵¹ *Istoria orașului Oradea*, Oradea, 1995, (hereinafter *Istoria orașului Oradea*), p. 83.

This text provides us with the first information about Biharea as courthouse, as stated by L. Borcea⁵², in 1093. However, in 1067, the first commissioner of Bihor, Stephanus Byhoriensis⁵³ is mentioned, in an undated document, but probably from the same year⁵⁴. We know with certainty that the two institutions from Biharea, the bishopric and the county, were operating in 1111, when bishop Syxt of Bihar and commissioner Saul of Bihor are mentioned⁵⁵. Two years later (in 1113) the first documentary mentioning of the toponymy Oradea (Varadinum) appeared in a diploma of Zobor Benedictine abbey. The document is very important for Oradea and for Bihor County as well, because in the subscription of the final protocol Bishop Syxtus Vvaradiensis and commissioner Saul of Bychar are mentioned⁵⁶. As we can see, between the two documents appears a distinction in the way Sixt is mentioned: Syxtus Bichariensis in the act of 1111, and Syxtus Varadiensis in the act of 1113.

Historian L. Borcea thinks that the questions about a Latin bishopric in the area “are to be asked about the place of its residence: Biharea or Oradea. On the basis of the oldest most reliable information it was founded in Oradea by King Ladislaus I (1077-1095) and not in Biharea by Stephen I (1000-1038). Those who claim that the diocese was moved from Biharea to Oradea by King Ladislaus during his reign will have to find a plausible explanation for Sixtus who was mentioned in Biharea in 1111”⁵⁷. The same historian is of the opinion that there were two bishoprics, the first in Biharea, “suggests a continuation of an ancient

⁵² L. Borcea, „Contribuții la istoria așezării Biharea în secolele XI-XVII”, in *Crisia*, XX, Oradea, 1990, p. 159. In another recently published paper, the author states that: “The first information about Biharea as county’s office of administration comes from around 1067 when it is mentioned as a *pristaldus...Stephani Byhoriensis comitis, Wde*” (L. Borcea, *Bihorul medieval. Oameni. Așezări. Instituții*, Oradea, 2006, p. 38).

⁵³ *DIR*, p. 27.

⁵⁴ *Istoria orașului Oradea*, p.86, No.1 „*pristaldus... Stephani Byhoriensis, Wde*”, with the bibliography: Györffy Gy., *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae*, Budapest, 1963, p. 601.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p.2 “Coloman, king of Hungary strengthens with his seal an act of the Zobor monastery (in Nyitra county, now in Slovakia), under which St. Stephen, King of Hungary appointed the monastery with a third of the customs shown in the document. Confirming the act”: “Bishops Paul of Calocsa, Simion of Transylvania (Ultrasilvanus), Matei of Vesprim, Marcel of Vaț, Gheorghe of Győr, Sixt of Bihor, Wolfer of Agria, Laurențiu of Cenad, Grigore of Zara, Felician provost of Székesfehérvár, Robert provost of Strigoni, Ivan Palatine, Saul commissioner of Bihor, Queletde commissioner of Bács, Toma commissioner of Alba, Thebald commissioner of Somogy, Mercuriu prince of Transylvania”.

⁵⁶ *Codex Slovacie*, p 67, where the original version of the document from 1113 was published. The document is original, written on parchment of 460X620 mm, in very bad condition, in the archive of the Diocese of Nitra, share I.V.I.D.N., fasc.1, 1, cited from *Istoria orașului Oradea*, p. 85-86, No. 10.

⁵⁷ L. Borcea, *Moaște ale unor sfinți bizantini la Biharea în secolul al XII-lea*, in *Istoria – ca experiență intelectuală*, Oradea, 2001, p. 92.

bishopric, found here by the Hungarians, who didn't touch it in the first century after the conquest, as they didn't touch Bihor Duchy neither, conquered only de jure, not de facto, and whose ecclesiastical authority they couldn't challenge. The second is the Latin one, from Oradea, founded later..."⁵⁸.

Another opinion expressed by Al. Madgearu refers to the fact that in Biharea a bishopric was installed, that marked the subordination to the crown of Hungary, the first bishop being Lieduinus of Lorraine, in 1061, and the first commissioner is Stephen, in 1067, then in 1093 the bishopric moved to Oradea. Hence, the conclusion that "the territory of the Principality of Crișana was integrated into the structures of the Hungarian Kingdom in the mid-eleventh century. This is how it was stopped the process of state genesis started in the ninth century in the west of the Apuseni Mountains"⁵⁹. We believe that in Biharea there was a bishopric, not founded by Hungarians, but older, of Byzantine rite, as the Romanians and the Slavs under the leadership of Menumorut shared this belief, and Hungarians from east inclined towards this rite because of influences exerted by the large number of local residents. Recent archaeological research from Biharea could support these claims. Archaeological research in the years 1973-1975 in the central area of the earth fortress revealed, through the archaeological material found, the Christian inhumation cemetery, the apse construction, the quadrilateral construction of archaic form, all dating from the 8th-10th centuries, the indigenous Romanian level, previous to the level marked by early feudal materials with clay boilers and brick wall constructions⁶⁰. At Biharea, on the occasion of archaeological research near the southern wave of the earth fortress, it was also unveiled a building with an apse, made of stone and brick, which could indicate a church located near the fortress's southern wave⁶¹.

The groups of newcomer populations in the region is distinguished by a material culture specific to the 11th-13th centuries, among which the clay boilers found in all dwellings of this archaeological level are highlighted, shaping a new cultural horizon, ethno – culturally different from the previous ones from

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*. This paper discusses the presence in Biharea of the relics of the two saints from the Byzantine area, based on the *Chartularium* of the Church of St. Alban of Namur, written after 1064.

⁵⁹ Al. Madgearu, „Voievodatul lui Menumorut în lumina cercetărilor recente”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, History-Archeology Series, XI, Oradea, 2001, p. 49.

⁶⁰ S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea*, p.70. See also F. Sfrengeu's work, „Considerații privind simbolurile creștine descoperite la Biharea”, in *AUO*, XIII, Oradea, 2003, p. 5-8, where Christian symbols on the bottom of pots are shown.

⁶¹ Archaeological research in the southern part of the fortress took place in the years 2001-2004, annual archaeological reports prepared by S. Dumitrașcu, F. Sfrengeu were sent, and they can be accessed at the addresses:

<http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=1294&d=Biharia-Bihor-Cetatea-de-pamant-2001>,
<http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=1884&d=Biharia-Bihor-Cetatea-de-pamant-2002>,
<http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=2178&d=Biharia-Bihor-Cetatea-de-pamant-2003>

Biharea. This does not exclude, after the setting of newcomers, the cultural interferences, even the taking over of some elements by the newcomers of elements of Romanian folk culture or vice versa⁶². The discoveries from the settlement added to the ones in the fortress (with the grooved neck vessels and the clay boilers) and the riders' cemetery on the Șumuleu Hill, outlining two special situations. "First the referral in the fortress, in the second half of the tenth century C.E. of a sporadic Hungarian penetration, probably after the attack of the Hungarian hordes on the fortress, plus the riders' cemetery, mentioned above. Even in the fortress, after the fading of the tumult made by the Hungarian hordes attack, the local rule, linked to the Byzantine Empire, restores its existence, maintains its strength, as shown by the findings from the west of the fortress, where there were discovered the remains of a dwelling (a residence?), where the Romanian, ancient material culture, of Byzantine origin remains, of course, with new items, due to the politico-military contact with the Hungarian hordes. On the other hand, there could not be noticed new items in the settlement, older than the half of the eleventh century, after that appears the level of housing inventory containing clay boilers. This is the historical situation that arose only after the organization of the apostolic Hungarian feudal state, after 1000, so only in the eleventh century. This historical reality of the penetration of new population groups in western Crișana, so in the north-western Romania, is not only historically impossible to have taken place earlier, but is now embodied by archaeological discoveries"⁶³.

County organization could not abolish the old Romanian realities and institutions in north-western Romania. The natives continued their lives in small formations, principalities and voivodships, sometimes called districts by the officials and within the Orthodox Church. Throughout the Middle Ages, in Bihor County numerous Romanian principalities and districts were mentioned: Beiuș, Suplac, Coleșerul Mic, Călata de Mijloc and others, organized according to ancient traditions⁶⁴.

⁶² S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea*, p. 248. For these archaeological realities and analogies see Chapter 9. *Epoca bizantină (sec. IX/X-XI e.n.)*, p. 195-207 and Chapter 10. *Descoperiri feudale timpurii (sec. XI-XIII)*, p. 207-213.

⁶³ *Ibidem*. The newer material culture, with its specific elements belongs to the Hungarians, Székelys, Pechenegs and Bösörmens, differing from the Romanian material culture or Romanian-Slavic one.

⁶⁴ I. A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii*, p. 146.

THE ENNOBLEMENT OF THE CALVINIST ROMANIAN PRIESTS AT THE MIDDLE OF THE 17TH CENTURY IN TRANSYLVANIA

Mihai GEORGIȚĂ*

Abstract. *The situation and condition of the ennoblement of the priests changes after 1640, when Gheorghe Rakotzi I intensifies his proselytism among the Romanian clergy and Romanians. It is the case of the priests Ioan from Alămor, Petru Szászvárosi and Ioan Siat from Ucuriș, whom this Prince have conditioned the ennoblement on their conversion to Calvinism.*

Keywords: *priest, noble, Romanian, prince Rakotzi, Transylvania.*

The situation and condition of the priests' ennoblement are amended when Gheorghe Rakotzi I, starting with 1640, intensifies his proselytism among the Romanian clergy and Romanians. Such is the case of the priests of Alămor, whose process of Calvinism was notified in the early Enlightenment and Romantic historiography¹, but without presenting any documentary basis, which led the contemporary researchers to have some reservations towards it². A certain priest Oprea from Alămor was the leader of a delegation of Orthodox people from Ocna Sibiului that required the prime judge of the city and the Calvin preacher, Gheorghe Alvintzi, member of the council, on June 17, 1609 to enable the Romanian inhabitants of Ocna Sibiului to attend the city's Orthodox Church, locked up at that moment. The church was built in the city, against the will of the council, by the treasurer Vasile, butler of Ocna during the reign of Michael the Brave. In exchange for this permission of attending the Romanian church, the believers pledged under oath and penalties to support financially the raising and maintenance costs of the Calvin church by paying annual fees. Here is a priest of Alămor in 1609 fighting for the rights of the Romanian believers of Ocna Sibiului³.

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¹ Samuil Micu, *Istoria românilor*, vol. II, București, 1995, p. 216.

² Ana Dumitran, Gudur Botond, *Înnobilarea românilor în epoca principatului autonom al Transilvaniei și semnificațiile sale religioase*, in „Medievalia Transilvania”, II, no. 1-2, 1999, p. 34.

³ Corneliu Creangă, *Contribuția lui Constantin Brâncoveanu la zidirea unei biserici în Ocna Sibiului*, in „Mitropolia Ardealului”, An XI, nr. 1-3, 1966, p. 148-150.

As to how did these priests of Alămor come to accept the Calvinism, only the ennoblement diploma helps us so far. Our recent discovery from Mureș County archives, a certified copy of the original diploma allowed us to remove any doubt and to highlight the particular importance of this document for the ecclesiastical history of the Transylvanian Romanians. The copy made in Cluj on December 12, 1790, as the two responsible for its authentication, Daniel Szigethi, as chancellor, and Samuel Betsek (as his assistant) assured us was composed according to the original without adding anything or, on the contrary, eluding something knowingly. Thus, on March 16, 1643, the priest Ioan from Alămor, who reached the venerable age of 80, was ennobled along with his son Nicolae by the Prince Gheorghe Rakotzi I⁴. The ennoblement motivation – particularly interesting for our study – shows that the priest of the Romanian church of Alămor recently converted and agreed to join in the Calvinist faith (“Honorabilis Ioannis Alumori alias Pastoris Ecclesiae possessionis Valachalis Almor ac certarum Ecclesiarum Valachalium ad genuinam Orthodoxae Professionis unionem recenter conversarum scioris faedumenta cesionem”). One also added to the reason for conversion the cultural and pastoral one, because, according to the diploma text, the priest Ioan from Alămor was a man of culture who, not only as a child, dedicated conscientiously and kindly to the science of letters discipline until his youth, but then, being young, in addition to the requirements of his capabilities and of his talent, was called towards the benefits of a holy life and took the gown. Consecrated as a priest, he shared his teaching everywhere and preached the word of God until the age of 80s⁵. Let us dwell more on this motivation. We see from the beginning that unlike other priests ennobled strictly for their conversion or only for the special cultural merits, the priest met them both. Although he was a very educated man since his youth, he did not vouchsafe to the access to the noble condition until he was converted, and even then, at the most, to the status of libertine, in whose class he could have come after performing some intellectual services. Therefore, in his case, the profession of Calvinist faith has worked primarily, although at such an old age, and his conversion was the main motivation of the ennoblement. Both the priest Ioan and his son Nicolae were advanced from the condition of libertines to that of nobles, with all rights, powers, privileges and immunities of a genuine noble with blazon, they and their descendants of both sexes. Everything under the express condition

⁴ Serviciul Județean Mureș – Arhivele Naționale ale României, *Colecția de documente Szabó Mihai*, inv. 3954/1643

⁵ *Ibidem*, “Tum veroconsideram, quod idem Ioanes Almori amoenioribus Litterariae Scienetia Disciplinisa puero non modo ad usque Juveniles annos sedule se adsirinxit et alacriter verum jugo aetatis hiae Juvenillis excusso juxta possibilitatis suae exigentiam, talentuque Sacro Sancti numinis beneficia eidem concredito tanto pietatis zelo animorum, suae indusoriae comissarum nostra essitit et educator ut obiantem tempus spatium in humanis agen promemierit ut jam octus genarius verbo divini Praeco dignus sit...”.

found at the end of the diploma that each of the two, together with their successors, should keep constantly and permanently the Calvinist faith (“Ita tamen si uterque una cum sucesoribus constanter semper Ortodoxe Religioni adhaereunt”). They publicly presented the new state of noble and the blazon to the General Assembly of the states of Transylvania, on January 3, 1644 in Alba Iulia and recorded their validity by the prince’s proto-notary. However, not before Alămor has been removed from the jurisdiction of the new Metropolitan Simion Ștefan and passed to that of the Calvin superintendent. The description of the blazon was made by Ioan, Knight of Pușcariu as described in the reconfirmed diploma for his son Nicolae by the Prince Mihai Apafi on April 24, 1667, which corresponds to the original⁶. It is about a crimson oval shield, the field of which shows a lion in natural color with its head turned. Above it, one can see a man dressed in clerical robes, having a manual in one hand and the keys of the church in the other hand, next to him a young knight, sitting on a reined horse. The representation of the son as a knight is an indication that he has not followed his father’s profession. One could observe only in the symbolism of the blazon that the priest Ioan was ennobled for his cultural and religious merits, as historiography motivated, without knowing the reasons of the diploma, like, of course, the coryphaei of the Transylvanian School had known. The presentation in blazon of the priest with his son as knight, about whom at present we know that he was also Calvin, suitable to the conditioning in the ennoblement diploma, gave birth to some perplexities in the recent historiography, concerned with the issue of the relations between Calvinism and Orthodoxy⁷. Firstly, the reconfirmation of 1667 for Nicolae raised the issue of the failure of his father merits, the priest Ioan of Alămor, reason for which descendants – as in other cases – had to prove again the virtues on a classical way (facts of arms), in order to maintain the status. Then, they thought that it would be a failure of the proselytism mission among the Romanians from Alămor, which drew the community reintegration under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Bălgrad, thereby losing the nobiliary title, conditioned by the proselytism program. They also stated that it would be a simple reconfirmation, now proven documentary, in the remodeled spirit of a more tolerant Calvinist policy of the Prince Mihai Apafi, which allowed for the coexistence in a single jurisdiction of the traditional communities with those that have joined to the new doctrines. The present analysis on the diploma content leaves no space for the various interpretations. We do not know how much this priest and his followers joined in the Calvinism, or only just accepted the new doctrine formally. In 1678, along with the Archpriest Gheorghe of Daia, and Ioan Zoba of Vinț, the priest Oprea of Alămor

⁶ Ioan Cavaler de Pușcariu, *Date istorice privitoare la familiile nobile române*, Second Edition, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 53.

⁷ Ana Dumitran, Gudur Botond, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

was administrator of the Alba Iulia monastery, but then, in 1680, together with the Calvin superintendent conspired to the demise of Sava Brancovici⁸. But this does not give the measure to his process of Calvinism, either because a clerk of Alămor, Constantin, the son of Constantin from Alămor, was copying an absolute Orthodox miscellanea in 1748⁹. In 1848, there still were a number of 24 noble families in Alămor and Bogatul Român who were bearing the same blazon and the appellation Pop as received by their ancestor Ioan of Alămor at his ennoblement. It is certain that during the time of the Rakotzi princes there must have been several such cases of ennoblement of the Romanian priests, conditioned by their conversion.

Only after several months, the Romanian Calvin priest Petru Pap Szászvárosi (Orășteanul) alias Pap of Lugoj was re-ennobled, therefore a Romanian clergyman residing in one of the strongest Romanian-Calvinist centres. However, he was at the same time a priest of the Roman-Calvinist church of Hăteș, another powerful Calvinist centre. About the social-professional and material situation of this priest, were discovered two documents¹⁰ until present, enabling a detailed and comparative analysis with that of his fellow of Alămor. The first document, issued on January 1, 1644 in Alba Iulia, refers to putting under gage of a house in Lugoj for this priest (“nobilem ac honorabilem Petrum Szászvárosi alias Pap de Lugoj, pastorem ecclesiae orthodoxae Valachicae Haczokiensis”) and his family in exchange of the sum of 1,000 Hungarian florins. The document already presents him as a noble, owner of this old noble house in Lugoj, bordering with other nobles and noble houses. The house or the noble curia was forever exempt from taxes even since by Prince Gabriel Bathori. However, by the decision of the three privileged nations’ assembly, made public in the Diet of Cluj on September 20, 1615 and by the order of Prince Gabriel Bethlen was again last among the other assets of the exchequer, the exemptions being annihilated. At the request of his counselors, Gheorghe Rakotzi decides “to give, to destine, to register and to pledge for the sum of 1000 florins ... the above-mentioned Peter ... and his honest woman Varvara Kis, his wife and all their heirs and descendants of both sexes, the whole and complete that house or noble curie

⁸ See: Marina Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici 1656-1683*, Cluj, 1939, passim.

⁹ Nicolae Comșa, *Manuscrise românești din Biblioteca centrală de la Blaj*, Blaj, 1944, p. 82-84.

¹⁰ The ennoblement diploma of January 11, 1644 was published for the first time by Juhasz Istvan, *op.cit.*, p. 252-254, according to the contemporary copy of Libri Regii. Then, they published it according to the original parchment, found in the collection of the Library of the Bucharest Faculty of History by Ana Dumitran, along with the pledge act of the house, issued on January 1, 1644, under the copy of Libri Regii. See: Ana Dumitran, *Petrus Szászvárosi alias Pap de Lugoj. Considerații asupra statutului socio-economic al preotului român calvin în secolul al XVII-lea*, in „Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica”, no. 4-5, 1999-2001, p. 70-72. Recently these two documents were re-edited and translated by Costin Feneșan, *Diplome de înnobilare și blazon din Banat. Secolele XVI-XVII*, Timișoara, 2007, p. 130-134, 254-256. Their translation enables a better analysis.

along with all its uses and pertinence of any kind”¹¹. The Prince ensured and guaranteed that if he or his successors would want to restore this house would then have to pay in full the sum of 1,000 florins “to the same Petru Szászvárosi alias Pop and his wife, Varvara Kis”, as well to all their heirs. One rightly noted that the amount of 1,000 florins that the house was pledged with, recommended this priest as quite gifted in material terms. However, the financial effort was too big to support also the costs to imprint the miniature of the blazon on the ennoblement diploma issued ten days later¹². The diploma text issued on January 11 by the prince was significant for the extensive motivation of the introduction, which illustrated the reasons of ennobling a person who has dedicated to the profession of a priest, in comparison with that of a layperson¹³. However, the ennoblement diploma is valuable from the historiographical perspective because they gave it to a Romanian Calvin priest and has differences as against diplomas issued for the same purpose, one could thus describing the nuances of this phenomenon.

The motivation made by Prince Gheorghe Rakotzi begins with an assessment of the human life and its struggle on this earth, in the spirit of the Protestant pessimism, as a man of book or as a warrior (“if a part of people is fighting in the camp of muses, another part follows the Mars through the heroic feats, but all and each one is struggling with the sufferings and adversaries of life”). However, if the warrior’s life is harsh and volatile, bringing the uncertain glory of salvation, instead, the other (“being much more noble and fruitful”) of the man entered by the spirit that fights in the spiritual realm with his body and his vices, to achieve the “eternal happiness laurel wreath” is “much more chosen and more fruitful”. Therefore, in the view of the prince, signer of the diploma, those who give an inner struggle are more worthy than those fighting with the enemies seen from the outside. However, among the top most appreciated are still those who struggle and help others to win the inner fight, rectum priests, the “ministers of the divine word”, and those who care for the church and the parish community, “with intact faith and tirelessly steadiness”. After this beautiful eulogy brought to the clerical churchman, entitled to the finest honors, motivated in the same train of ideas the proper consideration to the “worthy of honor Petru Szászvárosi alias Pap of Lugoj”. He is worthy of ennobling ever since his childhood he earnestly aimed at the study of the sacred writings, and then as a priest he shepherded with great and exemplary piety the flock of his believers, whom he has preached and taught diligently the “teaching bringing of

¹¹ “Certain arable lands worked and not worked, corn fields, hay fields, pastures, fields, forests, groves, mountains, hills, valleys, vineyards and hills with vineyards, river streams, ponds, fishing spots and water courses, mills and their places and particularly any kind of uses and whole pertinence of this house”. See the full text at: Costin Feneșan, *op.cit.*, p. 256

¹² Ana Dumitran, *Petrus Szászvárosi*..., p. 69.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 68.

salvation”¹⁴. Therefore, according to the motivation of the ennobling diploma, we find that we are dealing with a Romanian who in his youth studied at Calvinist schools, where he fathomed the scripture study according the Calvinist dogma, then he became a priest in the Romanian-Calvinist community in Lugoj and Hațeg, zealously spreading the Calvin teachings. These qualities put in the service of Calvin propaganda and proselytism recommended him to regain the old dignity of a noble that was in his possession before. We are not sure if he was a Calvin priest or a follower of the Calvinism when Gabriel Bathori knighted him. However, we do not believe that Prince Gabriel Bethlen cancelled, along with the diet, a Calvin priest’s noble curia exemption. We believe that, on the contrary, the proof of the full adherence to Calvinism and the propagandist zeal of the priest Petru of Lugoj led Gheorghe Rakotzi I, much more sensitive to the success of spreading the Calvinism in the Principality of Transylvania, to ennoble Petru again and exempt his noble curia from all taxes. He enjoyed forever as a true noble all the honors, privileges, exemptions, liberties, immunities and prerogatives and the noble insignia can use them everywhere and in every condition. In addition, the description of the blazon, very inspiring and suggestive, was meant to express the beneficiary merits in his spiritual struggle and cultural effort. Thus, in the field of the blazon, one can see standing by a man dressed in priestly dark clothes, with his head, uncovered and clasped hands upwards in praying position. Above his head, one can see as the sun, under a royal diadem, pours its bright rays that circle him lightly, and under the feet of the priest, represented in natural colors, a dragon with open mouth and the tongue out, as it would want to bite his heel¹⁵.

Beyond the differences of the symbolism in blazons and of some additional motivations, we find some similarities between the conditions of the ennoblement of the priest of Alămor with that of Hațeg. Both have studied with zeal the Holy Scriptures even since their childhood and followed the priestly career. Besides the fact that they were highly trained people and good connoisseurs of the Bible, they had also a very good pastoral mission and catechize of the believers. Therefore, they fulfilled all the requirements to serve the policy of Calvinism process promoted by the Prince. Only that Ioan of Alămor had to be converted before being knighted, and Petru of Lugoj, converted as before, had to prove his worthiness and the good service as a Calvin priest to have his older noble status recognized. Apparently, these two cases as examples, that the Romanian priests, who embraced Calvinism as a necessary condition of their ennoblement were only those taught and cultivated, but this was not so. For example, the Romanian church priest (“ecclesiae Valachalis Ökörítő”) of Ucuriș, Ioan Siat, knighted on 2 April 1650 by Gheorghe Rakotzi II, even if he was recommended by counselors for his loyalty

¹⁴ Costin Feneșan, *op.cit.*, p. 132-133.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 133-134.

and faithful services (“consideratis fidelitate et fidelibus servitiis”) – *qvasigeneral* stereotypical formula – one more reason to be raised from the plebeian condition, in which he was born, to that of a true noble, was that, although from his early youth he belonged to the Eastern Romanian church for several years he converted and now professed the Calvin faith (“ab aliquott annis ad fidei orthodoxae professionem ope divina conversus”) with all perseverance and with all his powers in the church he shepherds. It is likely that his humble state and poverty have prompted him to convert. As the diploma showed, he was the father of 10 boys, of whom the eldest, Gavril, was also a priest, so all of them and their descendants of both sexes were to enjoy fully the exemptions due to a noble recognized for his military facts (armalist), which also improved their wealth somewhat. The symbols in the blazon are usually conferred to the priests chosen for religious services: a man dressed in priestly clothes, with a book in his left hand and a “calamum scriptorium”¹⁶ in his right hand.

In 1646, Gheorghe Rakotzi ennobled the families of the priests Simon alias Pap of Slatina and Simon alias Pop of Apșa de Mijloc in the Committee of Maramureș. Their blazon shows a priest in ecclesiastic clothes, holding a book in one hand and a golden key in the other, and in front of him, a knight is depicted¹⁷. The blazons having symbols like that of the priest of Alămor, but having not the diplomas text, we cannot conclude that they are Calvin Romanian priests. Rather, the identity of the blazons with that of Simon alias Pap of the Biserica Albă, ennobled by Sigismund Bathori in 1593, the adversary prince of the Calvinism, leads us to the hypothesize that they would be his descendants, ennobled for pastoral, but also military virtues, and now ennobled again by the Prince Rakotzi. A further proof that the priests of the family Simon were ennobled on considerations other than those of the Calvin proselytism is a summary regarding the ennoblement on February 15, 1649, of the priest Ioan Pop called also Simon of Apșa de Jos, together with his sons Petru and Ioan, on condition to be always ready to serve the army¹⁸. Therefore, we believe that the family of priests Simon was ennobled due to delivery of the priestly services, but military, too. It was so with the family Grigorie Pop alias Drăguș of Decea (Committee of Alba), who received on February 1, 1649 nobility and blazon. In its shield appears to the right, a priest sitting on a lion lying down and having in one hand the scepter, and in the other a book from which he reads and to the left, a knight on a black horse jumping¹⁹.

¹⁶ The diploma was first published in part and commented by Nicolae Dobrescu, *Fragmente privitoare la istoria bisericii române*, Budapest, 1905, p. 29-30, and then fully by Juhász István, *A reformáció az erdélyi románok között*, Cluj, 1940, p. 257-258 according to *Libri Regii*.

¹⁷ Ioan Cavaler de Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁸ Magyarország leveltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. XXIV, files 89-90.

¹⁹ Constantin Reichenauer von Reichenau, Géza von Cserghö, Oscar von Bércsay, *Adel von Sibenbürgen*, in J. Siebmachers. *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, Band, IV, Theil XII, Heft 8, Nürnberg, 1898, p. 141.

Of course, there were more cases of ennoblement of the Romanian priests during the reign of Rakotzi Princes, but the diplomas analyzed here were eloquent enough to illustrate the policy of the process of Calvinism.

In conclusion, we can say that the Rakotzi princes, unlike the other Calvinist princes, have intensified the proselytism among the Romanians and conditioned the ennoblement of the Romanian priests on their conversion to Calvinism, when they were not part of a family that was ennobled for military services.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS IN THE ROMANIAN SPACE AND BORDER SYMBOLISM (1797-1810)

Sorin ȘIPOȘ*

Abstract. *Our study generally aims at showing the way in which the realities of the Romanian space were perceived through the travel reports written by foreigners who crossed the Romanian countries. Following Michael Metzeltin's methodological suggestions, we wish, at a first level of research, to identify, define and comment those things noticed by the foreign travellers which can become landmarks, indicators and witnesses defining the border. The second level of our investigation focuses on the things which let the traveller know that he is getting close to the state line or away from the border. The third level of our investigation looks at the impact on the travellers of crossing from one country to another, from Transylvania to Wallachia, for instance, from Moldavia to Transylvania, from the Ottoman Empire to the Romanian Principalities etc. The time frame of our research comprises the interval between 1797-1810.*

The foreign travellers note a series of things near the Romanian countries, namely: the militarized border, the customs, quarantine and army, the customs officials, the passport. A border with so many identification elements did not exist between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire. From this point of view, the Romanian countries seemed to most foreigners as part of the Ottoman Empire.

Consequently, most travellers viewed with optimism the passage into Transylvania and with suspicion and distrust the crossing of Moldavia and Wallachia. Beyond the existence of real causes, we also have to notice a certain subjectivism with foreign travellers, glad to reach Transylvania, for example, a province closer to the realities of their native places, as well as a certain desire to exaggerate the realities existing in the South and East of the Carpathians, a space perceived as part of the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: *Romanian countries, Ottoman Empire, border, foreign travellers, image.*

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1. The international context

Awareness in certain Western circles of the space in the Eastern part of the continent had already occurred, and interest increased progressively over time. The transition from the “Little” to the “Large Europe” was about to be made, and the Enlightenment, with its appetite for exotic realities, with its idea of “citizen of the universe”, with its cosmopolitan discourse, would provide a suitable framework in this sense. Ever since the end of the 17th century, more and more people had become interested in knowing the spaces at the periphery of the civilized world, where economic, cultural and human transfers were produced. “Now – wrote Paul Hazard – the Italians’ appetite for travel has revived; and the French are as restless as quicksilver”¹. “The German we speak of – added Paul Hazard – was sparing no effort: he was climbing the mountains to the top; he was following the rivers from the source to their mouths [...], he was visiting churches, monasteries, abbeys, public squares, town halls, aqueducts, fortresses, arsenals, taking notes. [...] For the British, the journey was a complement to their education; the young noblemen fresh out of Oxford and Cambridge, crammed with guineas and accompanied by wise preceptors, were crossing the Strait and beginning the great tournament”². The historians, the art historians and the specialists in Anglo-Saxon literature associated the years 1680-1780 with the golden years of the great tour³. A large number of preserved writings or objects advocate the importance of this ritual by which the young men from the greatest families leave for three years on the major roads of Europe in the company of a preceptor or with other people in their service⁴.

The Romanian Principalities drew again the great powers’ attention as the territories occupied by the Turks were liberated by the Habsburg Empire’s armies⁵. Consequently, we witnessed a resizing of Europe by the inclusion within the Austrian state borders of provinces that used to belong to Hungary. Slowly, Europe regained for a few centuries territories which belonged to this space by the inhabitants’ origin, languages and traditions. After unsuccessful attempts to include Wallachia and Moldavia, the border delimiting the Habsburg from the Ottoman Empire comprised Transylvania and, after 1774, Northern Bukovina as well. The Romanian provinces situated on the other side of the Carpathian

¹ Paul Hazard, *Criza conștiinței europene 1680-1715*. Traducere Sanda Șora. Prefață Romul Munteanu, București, 1973, p. 5.

² *Ibidem*, p. 6.

³ Gilles Bertrand, *Voyager dans l’Europe des années 1680-1780*, in *Les circulations internationales en Europe, années 1680 - années 1780*. Sous la direction de Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire et Pierrick Pourchasse, Rennes, 2010, p. 243. For Middle Ages travelling, see Jean Verdon, *Voyager au Moyen Age*, Paris, 2007, 385 p.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ See Călin Felezeu, *Statutul Principatului Transilvaniei în raporturile cu Poarta Otomană (1541-1688)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, pp. 107-119. David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române*, București, 1984, p. 134. Mathias Bernath, *Habsburgii și începuturile formării națiunii române*, Cluj, 1994, p. 87.

Mountains, Wallachia and Moldavia, were left under the effective domination of the Porte, while in Dobrogea the pashaliks and the rayas surrounding the Romanian lands as a belt were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire⁶.

In the early 18th century, significant mutations also occurred in the political relations between the Romanian principalities and the Ottoman Empire⁷. First, the Sultans imposed at the head of both Romanian countries foreign rulers who came accompanied by their familiars who were placed in the most important positions. After removing the native rulers for good, the Porte appointed at the head of the principalities people generally coming from the Greek, Levantine world⁸. The supreme dignity in the state was obtained by purchasing the throne. In his turn, in order to recover his money or to pay the debts he had contracted, the new ruler tried to sell the positions in the higher administration of the country⁹. These were the political-social realities in the Romanian space, situated at the confluence of interests of the great powers of the time¹⁰.

2. Research objectives and work methods

Our study generally aims to grasp the way in which the realities of the Romanian space were perceived through the travel reports written by foreigners who crossed the Romanian countries¹¹. The interest of our research is to identify and analyze the records directly related to the border defined as a space delimiting states¹². Following Michael Metzeltin's methodological suggestions¹³, the first

⁶ *Istoria românilor*. Vol. VI. *Românii între Europa clasică și Europa luminilor (1711-1821)*. Coordonatori: Dr. Paul Cernovodeanu, Prof. univ. dr. Nicolae Edroiu. Secretar științific: Constantin Bălan, pp. 13-30.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 30-34.

⁸ Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne (1800-1848)*. Traducere de Maria Carpov, București, 1995, pp. 41-58. Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România. Originile. Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*. Traducere din franceză de Aurelia Dumitrescu. Ediția a II-a integrală și revizuită, București, 2000, pp. 121-125.

⁹ Pompiliu Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 113-118.

¹¹ See Sorin Mitu's special analysis of the research directions and main contributions in imagology investigations in Romania, in Sorin Mitu, *Transilvania mea. Istorii, mentalități, identități*, Iași, 2013, pp. 93-98.

¹² An interesting description of the border types in Europe, but indeed for contemporary realities, see Mircea Bric, Ioan Horga, *Le frontiere europees – espresioni dell'identità*, in *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XXIII, Supplement, No. 1, 2014. *Categorie europees. Rappresentazioni Storiche e Letterarie del 'Politico'*. Edited by Sorin Șipoș, Federico Donatiello, Dan Octavian Căpraga, Aurel Chiriac, Cluj, 2014, pp. 202-216. Closer to our research theme is the volume coordinated by Romanița Constantinescu, *Identitate de frontieră în Europa largită. Perspective comparate*, Iași, 2008, 349 p.

¹³ Michael Metzeltin, *Geneza frontierelor în Europa și valoarea lor emoțională*, in Romanița Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-39.

level of our research wishes to identify, define and comment those things noticed by the foreign travellers which can become landmarks, indicators and witnesses defining the border. The second level of our investigation focuses on the things which let the traveller know that he is getting close to the state line or away from the border. The third level of our investigation looks at the impact on the travellers of crossing from one country to another, from Transylvania to Wallachia, for instance, from Moldavia to Transylvania, from the Ottoman Empire to the Romanian principalities etc. The time frame of our research comprises the interval between 1797-1810. Therefore, given the reduced chronological span, we are aware that some of the conclusions we have reached are relevant only for the period investigated and, consequently, it is not recommended to extend them to other time intervals. For that reason, in our future research we will expand the analysis to at least a century, so the results of our investigations should be based on a larger time interval. The analyzed timespan has been randomly selected and was marked by political and military conflicts, more precisely by the Russian-Turkish war between 1806-1812. However, the wars waged by the Great Powers in the 18th century had become a *normality* for the Romanian space.

Before processing and analyzing the information from the foreign travellers' memoirs, diaries, reports and correspondence, we ought to mention our research methodology. First we endeavoured to identify the travellers who crossed the Romanian space and left us documentary records. This category includes both travellers who aimed at reaching the Romanian principalities, and those who only transited the Romanian space. We have started from the principle that it is important to establish as precisely as possible the number of travellers who kept records on the Romanian world. If a certain piece of information on the border is also mentioned by other authors, such as the state of the communication ways in the Romanian principalities, a historian can take it into account and compare it, in the end, with other internal documentary sources to check the reliability of the information.

We also wish to clarify from a methodological perspective three other problems, related to each other: establishing the travellers' formation, the reasons for their journeys and the direct the direction from which they entered on their entered the Romanian countries. The travellers' intellectual formation is important for the quality of the documentary source, as an educated, well-read traveller, can make thorough, manifold, but most important critical observations. Their intellectual formation also enables them, at least theoretically, to obtain information from previous works and from their contemporaries. The reasons for their journeys are also important for the information gathered. A traveller hurrying to his destination has little time and interest to describe the places he has crossed and the people he has met, while travellers arriving in political and economical missions draw much more documented reports and, consequently, much more useful ones for historians.

In our view, the direction from which the foreigners penetrate the Romanian space is also important for their attitude at crossing the border. This is a topic linked to the relation between the centre and the periphery, between the civilized space, where there are laws and institutions which enforce the order, and the uncivilized one, where arbitrariness and corruption are the main coordinates. A traveller passing from Transylvania to Wallachia has certain feelings, different from those shown by the accounts of one leaving Moldavia or Wallachia to enter Transylvania, Maramureș, Bukovina or Banat. Yet, compared to Austria, Transylvania is, in its turn, a periphery. In other words, establishing the centre is crucial for finding out where the periphery is. And the centre of a certain geographical and cultural space can become the periphery of another space. For instance, Count of Ségur, passing from Prussia to Poland in the winter of 1784-1785, was very aware that he had crossed a very important boundary. He felt that he “had completely left Europe” and more so that he “had travelled ten centuries back in time”¹⁴. Several decades later, Marquis de Custine, in Russia, noted the following as a conclusion to his visit: “One must have lived in this restless desert, in this prison without respite called Russia, to properly feel the entire freedom one enjoys in the other countries in Europe, regardless of their form of government. If one encounters discontent people in France, one should use my method, and tell them: “Go to Russia. It is a journey useful to any foreigner; he who will have properly seen this country would be happy to live anywhere else”¹⁵. Undoubtedly, both travel stories contain an idea pervasive in most travellers, that they were either at the edge of Europe, but outside its Eastern border, or in a different world, in another continent, having little in common with Europe.

History is a discipline by means of which experts reconstruct the past of the human communities. To achieve this goal, historians interpret critically the information from the documentary sources and place them in a certain order according to the work methods used¹⁶. For such sources, and also for others, the subjective factor is often present: superficiality, haste, lack of knowledge etc, which makes some pieces of information conveyed in the accounts of foreign travellers devoid of truth, of an equivalent in the reality of the period.

¹⁴ Larry Wolff, *Inventarea Europei de Est. Harta civilizațiilor în Epoca Luminilor*. Traducere din engleză de Bianca Rizzoli, București, 2000, p. 21.

¹⁵ Marchizul de Custine, *Scrisori din Rusia în 1839*. Ediție, prefață și dosar de Pierre Nora. Traducerea din franceză de Irina Negrea, București, 2007, p. 337.

¹⁶ See the work proposing methodological and thematic innovations, *Istoria României prin concepte. Perspective alternative asupra limbajelor social-politice*. Editori Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen, Iași, 2010, 527 p.

3. Foreign travellers and border symbolism

The accounts of 37 travellers passing through the Romanian space have been preserved from the period under review. If we take nation as a criterion for comparison, the following situation results: 10 of the travellers are French, 5 are German, 6 British, 4 Russians, 2 Austrians, 2 Spanish, 1 Hungarian, 1 Scottish, 1 Danish, 1 Italian, 1 Armenian, 1 Polish, and two of them are of an uncertain origin: Greek or Levantine, Hungarian or Austrian. Although the origin of those crossing the Romanian space is not always relevant, on top of the list we note the presence of travellers of French origin. France was still the major power in Europe at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The French are followed by Germans and British, important powers and with major interests in the Orient. There are also three Russian travellers, but their number is not relevant as Russia also had other ways by which its representatives could reach Istanbul.

With regard to their professions, the following order results: 13 are high officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: consuls, commercial affairs commissioners, diplomats, 14 of them are officers or are connected with the army, 1 archaeologist, 1 explorer, 1 geologist, 1 collectioner of antiques, 1 teacher, 1 statistician, 1 monk, 1 minister, 1 merchant, 1 archduke. As it can be seen, the vast majority of the travellers have higher education. The travellers' professional structure leads us to the following assertion, namely that the civilian and military representatives of the great powers were present in the Romanian space or just crossed it. Only eight of the travellers have liberal professions and are animated only by scientific and professional curiosity. This shows that the reasons for travelling were connected to the States sending them and to the interests of the latter. Hence the prevailing political and economic interests at the expense of scientific ones and of personal knowledge. The great professional training routes were still inside the Western part of Europe¹⁷. Political interests are, however, linked with Turkey and Russia, located on the Eastern border of Europe, between the Occident and the Orient.

As for the place where their journey began, the direction from where they entered the Romanian countries, 20 travellers entered from Central Europe, 12 from Istanbul and 5 from the Tsarist Empire. The result reflects the power dynamics and the interest for the Romanian space at the beginning of the 19th century. Although we are dealing with an equal ration of the travellers arriving from the West with those arriving from the East and South, the majority are those coming from Western Europe. The report can also serve as a mark of Western and Central European states' interest in the Romanian space¹⁸. But the direction

¹⁷ Gilles Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

¹⁸ Andrei Oțetea, *Scrieri istorice alese*, prefată de acad. David Prodan, ediție și studiu introductiv de Florin Constantiniu și Șerban Papacostea, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, pp. 69-176. Vlad Georgescu, *Mémoires et projets de réforme dans les Principautés roumaines, 1769–1830*, București, 1970. Pompiliu Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-198; Jean Nouzille, „La diplomatie française et les Principautés au début du XIXe siècle“, in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, tome XXXVIII, nos 1-4, janvier-décembre 1999, pp. 3-36.

the Romanian countries are entered from is also relevant for us. The travellers' accounts and their moods while crossing the border will also be influenced by this small detail.

On their way to their destinations, the travellers cross borders between smaller, less important states and Empires in different stages of development, with different borders and political systems. As we have seen in the time span analyzed, most travellers enter from Central Europe. Consequently, they crossed Austria, Hungary and went further on, either on the routes through Transylvania, or on those through Banat towards Wallachia. Entering Wallachia from the Ottoman Empire, for example, did not cause important changes in the travellers' perception. Crossing the territory of Wallachia mostly makes them happy to get closer to the border with Banat, Transylvania or Bukovina. Their perception of the Romanian space, of the frontiers they cross gives the travellers the opportunity to make scholarly comments, geopolitical considerations, and also to express many personal opinions coming from their personal experiences. The border is a space that separates countries, and crossing it causes the travellers to have different frames of mind, depending on the places they are leaving and the country they are entering. The roads towards and through the Romanian countries require the travellers to choose the direction of travel, to cross borders between states, watercourses, mountain chains or endless stretches of plains. Consequently, routes are for the authors an occasion for numerous comments and considerations. The travellers writing in their diaries records of experiences lived in the Romanian space also give pieces of information on crossing the borders between the states. But before discussing the symbolism of the political border and the travellers' mood, let's see which were the main roads crossing the Romanian countries, the entrance and exit routes towards Europe and towards the Orient. The most usual route on the way to Istanbul, crossing Transylvania and Wallachia, passed through the towns of Cluj – Alba-Iulia – Sibiu, where it divided into two roads to Bucharest. One crossed the Carpathians through the gorge of Turnu Roșu, going down to the capital by Râmnicu Vâlcea and Pitești, and the other passed through Brașov – Rucăr pass – Câineni – Câmpulung – Târgoviște, or along Valea Prahovei through Ploiești, both routes passing through Bucharest¹⁹. If the travellers came from Banat, then they followed the itinerary Timișoara – Lugoj – Hunedoara – Alba Iulia – Sibiu, and from there on, along the usual way towards the capital of Wallachia, or they descended from Timișoara towards Cerneți on the Danube, and then through Craiova – Slatina – Pitești towards Bucharest. The peregrines crossing Moldavia descending towards the Black Sea took the route Chernivtsi – Siret – Suceava (through Bukovina occupied by Austrians) – Iași – Fălciu – Galați,

¹⁹ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*. Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), volum îngrijit de Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Maria Stroia (secretar de volum). Redactor-responsabil Paul Cernovodeanu, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2004, p. 16.

then following the Danube to its mouth; when travelling towards Wallachia they used the route Iași – Roman – Bacău – Adjud – Focșani, and towards Transylvania they crossed the Carpathians through the passes of Oituz and Bârgău, to Târgu Secuiesc, Brașov or Bistrița; towards Russia they took the road Iași – Ungheni – Chișinău. The travellers who used the Danube route, embarking on steam ships either in Vienna, or in Pest, were transshipped at Porțile de Fier, then went on to Cerneți – Calafat – Corabia, where they followed the river to Giurgiu (from there to Bucharest) or continued their journey to Galați (for Moldavia) or passed through the Delta (through Sulina branch) towards Odessa or Istanbul. The same routes were also used by travellers returning from Turkey and heading for Central Europe towards Vienna or for Russia²⁰.

Returning from Istanbul, Daniel Clarke perceived the passage from the Ottoman Empire towards Wallachia, a province under the domination of the Porte, in relation to a certain kind of comfort offered by carriage travel and, obviously, to a certain type of mentality.

“On April 16”, – writes Daniel Clarke – “we crossed the Danube. On the other bank, the carriages of Wallachia’s ruler. [...] Some of the Turks had never before sat in a wheeled vehicle and when the carriages set in motion they stuck their bearded heads out the windows throwing the most pitiful looks one can imagine. [...] For us the change wasn’t less memorable either, as one year and a half had passed since we had left Russia and we had spent the entire time travelling without once having at our disposal a wheeled carriage”²¹.

Crossing the Danube, the British traveller on his way to England was entering Wallachia. But most travellers did not feel that as there was no militarized border with the Ottoman Empire. Wallachia had been for a few centuries under the domination of the Ottoman Porte, and in the 18th century the Ottoman Empire increased its presence in the Romanian space. In time, the Turks managed to occupy the towns on the Danube, and directly controlled the territories around the fortifications by organizing the rayas and the Pashaliks²². The ruler was appointed directly by the Sultan, and the institutions of the country were effectively controlled by the Porte²³. Even if the country had maintained a

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 16-17.

²¹ Edward Daniel Clarke, *Relația călătoriei de-a lungul coastei dobrogene*, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), volum îngrijit de Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Maria Stroia (secretar de volum), redactor-responsabil Paul Cernovodeanu, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2004, p. 56.

²² *Istoria românilor*. Vol. IV. *De la universalitatea creștină către Europa „patriilor”*. Comitetul de redacție al volumului: acad. Ștefan Ștefănescu și acad. Camil Mureșanu, redactori responsabili, prof. univ. dr. Tudor Teoteoi, secretar, București, 2001, pp. 572-575.

²³ Leonid Boicu, *Principatele Române în raporturile politice internaționale (1792-1821)*. Ediție de Victor Spinei, Iași, 2001, p. 38.

certain autonomy, there were few elements informing the travellers that the Danube was the border between two states and that, crossing it, they entered another country. Even the presence of the carriages sent by the ruler for the delegation coming from Istanbul could be a clue of the relations between the Sultan and the ruler of the country.

However, for the beginning of the 19th century travellers, the carriage was synonymous with civilization and a certain way of life. It could protect them against the weather conditions, offering comfort for long and tiresome journeys. The carriage made the Turks accompanying the ambassador to Vienna feel uneasy, even apprehensive. Eduard Daniel Clarke, who had been for several years in Russia and Turkey where he had not used carriages any longer, experienced the same feelings. The British traveller's account suggested the readers, somewhat indirectly, that in the North of the Danube one was closer to the normality specific to the European world, unlike in the lands situated South of the Danube.

For Eduard Daniel Clarke, the true border of the Ottoman Empire was more to the North, on the Carpathians. On his way to his homeland, the traveller crossed Wallachia and entered the great Principality of Transylvania. Getting closer to Transylvania stirred into the traveller states of mind, emotions that he recorded in his travel notes. Proximity to the border is marked by several elements, which we have named border "witnesses" and which are recorded by other travellers as well. Thus, the watch posts where there were guards on both sides of the border, the table with the imperial emblem, the quarantine were some of the elements marking the border. Along with these elements, one can identify more others belonging to the category of elements that symbolically mark the passage from one world to another.

"We crossed a very impetuous river towards Câineni", – wrote the British author – "the last possession of Wallachia's ruler. Soon after leaving Câineni, a peasant's <presence>, posted as a sentry in front of a roadside shack, indicates the border of the principality; a small torrent flowing through a hollow between the mountains and streaming into Olt river forms the border between this part of Wallachia and Transylvania. The imperial emblem, painted on a small table, placed on the side of a mountain, overlooking this torrent, gave us the good news that, after crossing a small bridge which stood before us, we will have left the Ottoman Empire. On the Transylvanian side of the same torrent, another peasant, standing before another shack, was also posted as a sentinel".²⁴

The British official's account records the first signs they were getting near the border announced by a waterway flowing very impetuously and by a place, Câineni, which was the last possession of Wallachia's ruler. As they approached

²⁴ Edward Daniel Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

the border, the traveller also saw other elements, such as the sentinel, in this case a peasant, and the shack, situated on the roadside, all indicating proximity to the border of the principality. The British official did not hide his joy for leaving Wallachia and entering the Habsburg Empire. The sight of the imperial emblem made him feel safe and consider with optimism the journey, obviously in opposition to the experiences endured in Wallachia.

Christine Reinhard was also marked by crossing the border; the sight of the imperial emblem stirred in her a different state of mind, as her journey, unlike Eduard Daniel Clarke's, was in the opposite sense. She came from Hamburg, where her husband had been accredited to the Hanseatic cities and lower Saxony, and accompanied him in his new mission, that of a resident and general commissioner for trade relations in the Romanian Principalities²⁵. Although difficult, the route of Transylvania made her endure stoically all the difficulties encountered. The great unknown proves to be the crossing into Wallachia. "We leave Sibiu" – wrote Christine Reinhard – "early in the morning on a wonderful weather and we quickly reach Turnu Roșu where Prince Ipsilanti's representative and a part of the escort of honour have come to meet us. I was looking at the tower and at the gorge that dominates it while the Wallachian emissaries conveyed the prince's greetings to my husband. This building preserved and painted in red, wrote the traveller, has nothing interesting, yet for me it had a special meaning and represented the barrier separating me from all I cared about"²⁶. Christine Reinhard felt that one fine day in the summer of 1806 she was heading for another world, the building in Turnu Roșu symbolically separating a world she knew from another, unknown one, which seemed to her to be far from her expectations. The building had nothing spectacular but was of a great importance for our traveller, it was the boundary stone marking the known from the unknown, safety from uncertainty.

Vince Batthyány, a Hungarian nobleman, an Aulic Advisor, also had such experiences. His two trips, in 1801 and 1805, are from the Habsburg Empire to Wallachia and to Moldavia. On his way back during the second trip, Vince Batthyány wrote some of his impressions on the border between Moldavia and the Habsburg Empire.

"It was dusk when we crossed the Prut river", – wrote the Aulic Advisor – "which in this part forms our border and this far it got dark. However, the governors of the border finished with us quickly and politely. We had to spend the night in the bad tavern, as intruders had occupied the room held ready for us by the quarantine inspector"²⁷.

²⁵ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*. Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 239, (În continuare *Călători străini...*).

²⁶ Christine Reinhard, *Scrisori*, în *Călători străini...*, p. 283.

²⁷ Vince Batthyány, *Călătoria prin Țara Românească, Scrisoarea a douăsprezecea*, în *Călători străini...*, pp. 107-108.

Besides the concept of border, marked in this case by the Prut river, the traveller also brings into discussion the border officials and the place of accommodation for the travellers surprised by nightfall near the border. The author feels firsthand the difference between the accommodation in the quarantine room and that in the tavern near the border.

William Wittman, a military doctor on his way from Constantinople to England, who crossed Wallachia, Moldavia, Bukovina, Galicia and Silezia, reaching on a first step of the journey to Vienna²⁸, remarked the following elements while crossing from Moldavia into Bukovina: “After a short stop, we left Dorohoi heading for Herța and then to the post station near Chernivtsi, where the quarantine director lives. Here is the quarantine where the foreigners’ passports and luggage are inspected before they enter the “German Empire”²⁹. This time, besides the already known elements marking the border, namely the quarantine and the post station close to Chernivtsi, two new elements appear: passport and luggage control.

Adam Neale, a military doctor of Scottish origin passing through Moldavia in 1805³⁰, made the following record: “The territory of Moldavia starts at Țurenii, a hamlet of a few houses, where there are both post stations, the Austrian and the Moldavian one, and some Greek and Austrian commissars for controlling and stamping the passports³¹. In this account, the delimitation of the border runs along a locality, Țurenii, where both post stations, Austrian and Moldavian, operated and where the Greek and Austrian officials were also present to control and stamp the passports. The novelty in this case is given by delimiting the border between two states through a locality and the information the author gives us that the passports are stamped as proof of crossing the frontier. The passport, the signature and the stamp in the passport were identification elements in the new country, inside the border. The passage from one country to another left traces such as the stamp and the signature applied on the passport.

In his turn, Joseph Rohrer, a statistician visiting Bukovina and Moldavia in 1802, in an extended journey also including Galicia, Silesia and Moravia, on his way back from Moldavia to Bukovina³², noted the following: “During the last night I slept on the divan of a Moldavian Boyar, who was kind enough to ask his Arnaut, a man armed with pistols and a Turkish yataghan, with a terrifying look but, as it seems, with a good heart, to prepare my pillows and bring me a blanket. How strange it will seem to me today to

²⁸ William Wittman, in *Călători străini...*, p. 129.

²⁹ William Wittman, in *Călători străini...*, p. 136.

³⁰ Adam Neale (m. 1832), in *Călători străini...*, p. 172.

³¹ Adam Neale, *Relația călătoriei prin Moldova* (1805), in *Călători străini...*, p. 173.

³² Joseph Rohrer (1769-1828), in *Călători străini...*, p. 152.

find again in the inn where I stopped the first time a regular wood bed on which lay a sack of straws”³³.

In this case, although there is no explicit talk of the border, a number of elements appear which we would include into the second group of indicators defining and marking the border. From the Austrian traveller’s account, the second category of elements marking the Moldavian border would be the Boyar house, the divan, the Arnaut, the Turkish yataghan, and, on the other side of the border, in the Empire, the inn, the wood bed, the sack of straws.

The British Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, who left Istanbul on November 25, 1801, heading for London, passing through Dobrogea, Wallachia, Transylvania and Banat³⁴, recorded crossing the border from Wallachia to Transylvania in only one paragraph: “Saturday, December 5. At 12 o’clock we arrived at Curtea de Argeş. The four post stations between Curtea de Argeş and Turnu Roşu are the most dangerous I travelled through my entire life – the first and the last being less bad. But we crossed without any accident”³⁵. For the traveller, the border is marked by the four post stations between Curtea de Argeş and Turnu Roşu. The border crossing is marked by the difficulty of crossing the Carpathian Mountains, and the two post stations located on both sides of the Carpathians are considered to be the most difficult places he has ever passed through.

The differences between Transylvania and Wallachia are obvious for the French Louis Allier de Hauteroche, a typographer and later Vice-Consul, and an avid numismatist. On his way back from Constantinople to his native country, in 1806, he also went through Wallachia and Transylvania³⁶. Like most travellers, he followed the road towards Wallachia and Transylvania. While crossing the Danube, the river that separated the Ottoman Empire from Wallachia, he noted the following impressions: “Left Varna for Rusciuk, crossing the whole Bulgaria, on October 3, at 10 a.m., on a wretched, cold and dark weather, on October 9 in the afternoon we reached the port of Giurgiu, after walking along the town and crossing the Danube on a sailing ship with oars”. [...] “One lands at a large village called Giurgiu and finds oneself on the lands of Wallachia’s Hospodar. We were received by an officer of the prince, who offered us food and shelter, which we accepted; then, at eight in the evening, I left for Bucharest [...]”³⁷. The French traveller crossed two borders, the first one delimiting the Ottoman Empire and Wallachia and being

³³ Joseph Rohrer, *Relatarea călătoriei prin Moldova și Bucovina*, in *Călători străini...*, p. 153.

³⁴ Lordul William Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839), in *Călători străini...*, p. 119.

³⁵ Lordul William Cavendish Bentinck, *Călătorie prin Dobrogea, Țara Românească, Transilvania și Banat*, 1801, in *Călători străini...* p. 125.

³⁶ Louis Allier de Hauteroche (1766-1827), in *Călători străini...*, p. 190.

³⁷ Idem, *Balkanii, Itinerar de drum (1805)*, in *Călători străini...*, p. 193.

a fluvial one, along the Danube, which Louis Allier de Hauteroche crossed on a sailing ship with oars. In this case, the border was marked by water and it was crossed by boat. Instead, while crossing the border between Wallachia and Transylvania, the traveller related the following: “The transition to Transylvania is much more spectacular. We rode from Pripoare to Titești, and from Titești to Căineni as well. There we had lunch. [...] Left again on horseback, as Mr. Parandier, who doesn’t like to cross in a carriage the most dangerous places in the Carpathian Mountains. [...] Once in quarantine, we waited for more than an hour the arrival of our carriages and luggage. [...] An hour later we arrived in Turnu Roșu. This is the first German military post. Mr. Matouche, the customs officer, received us most kindly. Light meal, pleasant-looking host and satisfying beds”³⁸. Here, too, we have the same indicators, border witnesses. The quarantine, the customs, the customs officer, the German military posts. Căineni on one side of the border, and in Transylvania, Turnu Roșu, there are other elements marking the frontier. The author introduces yet another element in delimiting the border between the two states, namely a certain comfort and greater security given by the light meal, the pleasant appearance of the host and the satisfactory beds.

The feeling that a political border is crossed is much clearer when passing from Wallachia and Moldavia into the Habsburg Empire than from the Ottoman Empire into the two countries. The presence of soldiers, border guards, customs officers, the organized quarantine, the checking of passports and goods increased the feeling of crossing from one country to another, from a Western civilization into an Oriental one. The existence between the Habsburg Empire and the Romanian countries of the militarized border, of the crossing points, of the quarantine emphasized the sense of separation, of a border between the Empire and the Romanian countries. This is not the case when crossing the Danube, which made the travellers consider that entering the Romanian countries they entered the Ottoman Empire. The quarantine also had the role of protecting the country of any possible plagues coming from the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, along the border between Moldavia and Russia, the Porte had a belt of fortifications described by the French officer Joseph Félix Lazowski. “I will not leave the Dniester” – wrote Lazowski – “without reminding the government that Hotin, Bender and Akerman are the only ones defending its shores, with a big distance between them”³⁹. The French observer noted also that those

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 196.

³⁹ Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *De la „Mica” la „Marea Europă” Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite” à la „Grande Europe” Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l’Europe. Études et documents. Traducerea textelor. Traduction des textes: Delia-Maria Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, p. 6-7.*

fortifications were unlikely to stop a Russian invasion⁴⁰. They rather gave the feeling that the border between the Ottoman Empire and the Tsarist Empire was on the Dniester.

In his turn, Ignacio Maria del Corral y Aguirre, appointed Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain to Istanbul and on his way to take his position⁴¹, recorded the following: “Arriving at the borders of Turkey, I met the Mihmandar (host) whom, at the order of the Sublime Porte, the Prince of Wallachia had sent to accompany me. He immediately prepared the horses, carriages, escort and free housing for me. Everyone in this country was obliging and helpful. I responded with those forms of politeness so necessary in all the countries and irreplaceable in the Oriental ones, always trying to reconcile sobriety with pomp”⁴². As the Spanish ambassador was getting nearer Wallachia, he came into contact with the Oriental world, represented by officials, states and cultural spaces such as: the Mihmandar, the Sublime Porte, Oriental countries, and also by the attitudes, the characteristics of these worlds, for instance the pomp.

After crossing the border, the traveller made contact with more other things which clearly marked the fact that he had passed into another country. We would define them as elements in close proximity to the border; they are very suggestive in terms of marking the frontier, the differences existing between the country he leaves and the one he enters in. To this category belong the population in the close proximity to the border, the accommodation spots, the ways of communication, the land etc. It is everything that comes to the traveller’s sight as soon as he crossed the border. They are those who stir the traveller different moods, some even before crossing the border, as we have seen, and other new ones, unknown so far.

“Since our luggage” – wrote Daniel Clarke – “had to be checked in the lazaretto, two hours away from Căineni, we stopped there for the night and we slept in the director’s house. Our host and his family were German, and we were impressed by the general air of cleanliness, not only in this house but everywhere along the road where there are German inhabitants”⁴³.

Moving from one province to another, from a country to another one, forces the traveller to mental, landscape changes, but it also requires him to

⁴⁰ “This small number of fortresses defending the extreme frontier of the Ottoman Empire, on a stretch of over 100 leagues along the Dniestr could have seemed sufficient to the Sublime Porte as long as, separated from its enemy by an almost always allied power (Poland) and by the wastelands of Tartary it could, by various political combinations and advantageous diversions, slow down the Russian troops’ advance, thus gaining the necessary time to gather from far away those numerous armies always entrusted with the defense of its provinces.” Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7.

⁴¹ Ignacio Maria del Corral y Aguirre, in *Călători străini...*, p. 82.

⁴² Idem, *Știri despre Țara Românească*, in *Călători străini...*, p. 84.

⁴³ Edward Daniel Clarke, *Călători străini...*, p. 68.

comply with the very strict legislation in the Habsburg Empire. After crossing the high, mountainous area between Wallachia and Transylvania, a crossing which causes him thrills but also delight, Daniel Clarke had to undergo thorough checks. First of all there was the lazaretto, the quarantine place, where the people and the luggage were checked. Daniel Clarke's explication is the following: "Since our luggage had to be checked in the lazaretto, two hours away from Câineni, we stopped there for the night and we slept in the director's house"⁴⁴. The lazaretto's director was German, but the very important and suggestive aspect was that the house was clean, like in the entire German world in the Southern parts of Transylvania, for that matter. Most foreign travellers passing through Transylvania were influenced by the ethnical and confessional structure of the Principality. The French, German, Austrian, Spanish travellers first got into contact with the regions inhabited by the Saxons native of the West. After their experience in the Ottoman Empire, in the Orient, here they found again at least a small part either of their native countries, or, generally, of the Occident. Therefore, sometimes their enthusiasm in their writings while crossing to Transylvania was also slightly enhanced by these factors. The following day, the traveller reaches Turnu Roşu, where the luggage was checked again, this time by the customs officer⁴⁵.

For Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, "The region of Transylvania... the land seems, generally, cultivated"⁴⁶. The difference between Transylvania and Wallachia is given by the order, the cultivated land, unlike in the recently left country. Daniel Clarke notices, in his turn, the same thing: "After leaving Băiţa, we encountered again open spaces and we went down the mountains to the fertile lands of Transylvania. Here, everything looked different: huge undulating wheat fields, cheerful and smiling peasants, robust cattle, numerous villages, nothing resembling the country we had just left"⁴⁷. In the new country, he found tranquillity, prosperity, many villages, satisfied people, in other words, things that got him closer to the normality of the civilized world, different from the realities of Wallachia he had recently left.

The differences between Transylvania and Wallachia were obvious for Louis Allier de Hauteroche as well: "In the fields I saw works of field husbandry, ploughs, workers, furrows and many peasants coming and going. The contrast with the country I had crossed fully proved to me I was no longer in Turkey"⁴⁸. Here again, the large number of the inhabitants, the field husbandry, the work tools were signs he had entered another world. He crossed a political border, but

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

⁴⁶ William Bentinck, *Călătorie prin Dobrogea, Țara Românească, Transilvania și Banat*, 1801, in *Călători străini...*, p. 125.

⁴⁷ Edward Daniel Clarke in *Călători străini...*, p. 69.

⁴⁸ Louis Allier de Hauteroche, *Balcarii, Itinerar de drum (1805)*, in *Călători străini...*, p. 197.

also, at the same time, a civilization one. The field husbandry, the numerous inhabitants require order, stability, prosperity. Vince Batthyány also made the following observation: “Right outside Suceava there is the Moldavian post station of Burdujeni. All I found were stables of earth and straw, filthy huts and a few half-naked sturdy men, lying on the ground. They immediately jumped up to bring the horses, as they said. But they lay again on the ground and we had to rant and rave and threaten to be able to budge”⁴⁹.

The feeling of crossing a political border was stronger when passing from Wallachia and Moldavia into the Habsburg Empire than from the Ottoman Empire into the two countries. The presence of soldiers, border guards, customs officers, the organized quarantine, the checking of passports and goods increased this feeling of crossing from one country to another, from a Western civilization into an Oriental one. The militarized frontier, the crossing points, the quarantine between the Habsburg Empire and the Romanian countries intensified the feeling that there was a separation, a border between the Empire and the Romanian countries. There was nothing similar when crossing the Danube, which made the travellers consider that entering the Romanian countries they entered the Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, the cultural, religious and mental differences between Europe and Orient have a certain role in enhancing the differences noticed by the foreign travellers between the two spaces⁵⁰.

Daniel Clarke sensed a very important aspect for shaping a correct image of a space. It depends very much on the reference system one relates to!

“An Englishman suddenly moved from his country with cleanliness habits within Germany will complain of the inhabitants’ rude manners and filthiness, but, after travelling for a long time in Turkey, the contrast he sees when entering Transylvania produces a totally different impression on his mind and the same people who looked dirty, when compared to the English, are clean in comparison with the Turks.”

The Ottoman world became the standard, the bench-mark for filthiness, for poverty, while England was at the opposite pole. Between the two extremes, the author integrated the German world of Transylvania, far superior to Turkey, but inferior to the realities of England.

⁴⁹ Vince Batthyány, *Călătoria prin Țara Românească, Scrisoarea a douăsprăzecea*, in *Călători străini...*, p. 100.

⁵⁰ Aubert, *Note statistice despre Polonia rusească, Moldova și Valahia*, in Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *op. cit.*, p. 32. Jean Delumeau, *Frica în Occident (secolele XIV-XVIII). O cetate asediată*, vol. II. Traducere, postfață și note de Modest Morariu, București, 1998, capitolul *Frica de străin*; Elisabetta Borromeo, *Le «Turc» à l’âge moderne: itinéraire d’une image (du XVI^e jusqu’au début du XVIII^e siècle): quelques réflexions*, in *Images des peuples et histoire des relations internationale du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*. Sous la direction de Maria Matilde Benzoni, Robert Frank, Silvia Maria Pizzetti, Milano, Paris, 2008, pp. 3-14.

The foreign travellers also made notes and considerations on the clothes, housing, mentalities and political system in the Romanian Principalities. Order, discipline, prosperity, cleanliness, manners, comfort, are the privilege of a civilized society. Conversely, disorder, misery, poverty are associated with tyrannical, despotic regimes exploiting their subjects.

4. Conclusions

1. The foreign travellers note a series of things near the Romanian countries, namely: the militarized border, the customs, quarantine and army, the customs officials, the passport. A border with so many identification elements did not exist between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire. From this point of view, the Romanian countries seemed to most foreigners as part of the Ottoman Empire.

2. Then, there are those elements we have identified as belonging to the second level marking the border, namely: the political system, the presence of the Greek officials, the communication ways and transport organization, the quality of accommodation, the inhabitants' prosperity, the law enforcement.

3. The rapport between centre and periphery goes through significant changes, depending on what we consider as the centre. The periphery is set depending on the centre. For the foreign travellers, Transylvania is at the periphery of the civilized world, if compared to France. But in relation with the Romanian countries, the intra-Carpathian province is the centre, being, according to most travellers, in a position of superiority over the Danubian Principalities.

4. There are also mental borders, originated in the historical realities and sediments accumulated over centuries, overlapped by personal experiences. Due to the experience of the journey, the direct contact with the roads and resting places, the image of the political elite (from clothing, to behaviour, gestures and origin), the travellers crossing the Romanian space had the impression that the Romanian countries belonged to the Orient.

5. Consequently, most travellers viewed with optimism the passage into Transylvania and with suspicion and distrust the crossing of Moldavia and Wallachia. Beyond the existence of real causes, we also have to notice both a certain subjectivism of the foreign travellers, glad to reach Transylvania, for example, a province closer to the realities of their native places, as well as a certain desire to exaggerate the realities existing South and East of the Carpathians, a space perceived as part of the Ottoman Empire.

ETHNICITY AND POLITICS IN THE ROMANIAN SPACE. THE CASE OF NORTH-WESTERN TRANSYLVANIA

Mircea BRIE*

Abstract. *The ethnic structure of this region has been heavily influenced by the evolution of the various historico-geographical factors and policies. Most of this structure, however, is linked to the evolution of the denominational structure. Ethnicity in this case is closely related to religion. The political reality, the events with political overtones that occurred during these centuries had a direct influence regarding the conduct of processes and phenomena related to the ethno-confessional evolution of the area subject to our research. In this period the region is part of the Austrian state (before 1867), Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867 to 1918), Hungary (1940-1944) and Romania (1918-1940, 1944 - present). This space is located in the western area and it is mainly inhabited by Romanians. The continuous presence of Romanians here is documented ever since its formation. The ethnic group of Romanians has been facing a considerable demographic pressure that came from the Hungarians (the neighbouring ethnic group) or from groups or immigrants settled in this space (we refer in this case mainly to the Germans, Slovaks, Gypsies and Jews).*

Major geopolitical changes of the twentieth century and political decisions, especially extremist dictatorial regimes (Horthyst-Hungarian and communist-Romanian) led to significant changes in the ethnic structure of the northwestern region of Transylvania. Policy decisions, especially those taken during the dictatorial political and extremist regimes during the twentieth century, were able to seriously affect ethno-religious realities of the Romanian space, especially in Transylvania. Be it the Hungarian or Romanian authorities during the two world wars or the communist dictatorship, decisions were taken that changed the ethnic map of the Romanian space. Suffice it to recall the drama of the Jewish community of the Second World War or the "sale" of the Germans and the Jews by the Communists in the postwar period.

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Keywords: *ethnicity, Transylvania, diversity, Romanians, Hungarians, political decisions.*

The ethnic structure of this region has been heavily influenced by the evolution of the various historico-geographical factors and policies. Most of this structure, however, is linked to the evolution of the denominational structure. Ethnicity in this case is closely related to religion.

Some of the ethnic groups present in the area of Bihor or Sătmar are older, others have settled here more recently. What is characteristic and noteworthy is that the ethnic composition is very diverse. The geographic position at the boundary between the two ethnic groups of the Romanians and the Hungarians offers the region a very diverse ethnic structure, where various ethnic groups live together. Beside Romanians and Hungarians there are also Gypsies, Slovaks, Germans and Jews. Other ethnic groups are numerically insignificant¹.

Methodologically, to give the clearest picture possible, we used a more complex analysis that indicates the demographic realities in their evolution since the second half of the nineteenth century. This approach is required to enter into discussion both the demographic background and the changes that occurred during the twentieth century. Under these conditions we used the data from the censuses conducted by the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian states in this period². Such censuses were conducted in 1850, 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910³. In addition to these, the Romanian state held censuses in 1930, 1941, 1948, 1956, 1966, 1977, 1992, 2002 and 2011.

The ethno-religious structure of this period is influenced by local realities and socio-economic situation of the entire Transylvania or by the changes occurred in the geopolitics of the region. From a demographic point of view, Bihor and Sătmar had a population structure that followed the overall evolution of the phenomenon in the whole of Transylvania⁴.

1. The Political context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as determiner in the evolution of the ethnic structure.

The political reality, the events with political overtones that occurred during these centuries had a direct influence regarding the conduct of processes and phenomena related to the ethno-confessional evolution of the area subject to

¹ Mircea Brie, *Căsătoria în nord-vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX - începutul secolului XX). Condiționări exterioare și strategii maritale*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2009.

² We used the data from the published works of Traian Rotaru on the censuses of 1880, 1900 și 1910, but not only these (we also had the works Romanians in Hungary published in 1904 by Ioan Russu Șireanu, which is an analysis of the census from 1900, etc.)

³ The information referring to these censuses were gathered from the work Traian Rotariu (coord.), Maria Semeniuc, Mezei Elemér, *Recensământul din 1910 Transilvania*, București, 1999, p. 693-712.

⁴ *Izvoare de demografie istorică*, volumul II, București, 1987, p. 117

our research. In this period the region is part of the Austrian state (before 1867), Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867 to 1918), Hungary (1940-1944) and Romania (1918-1940, 1944 - present)⁵.

On the other hand, in the first half of the twentieth century there were three changes in the border line between Romania and Hungary. These changes, in conjunction with the issuance of laws in this regard had the effect and purpose to change the ethnic structure of the region.

The first big event of the nineteenth century, which influenced the Habsburg policy on ethnic issues, was the revolution of 1848. This revolutionary year highlights ethnic and religious conflicts between Romanians and Hungarians living in Bihor and Sătmăreș area. Both ethnic groups were attached to the values expressed in that year by their own people. Among the most important claims we highlight those that Romanian Orthodox Church in Banat and Crișana had on national rights and autonomy of the church.

The second half of the nineteenth century meant a very tense period during which this region was strongly affected by the political measures. The Imperial Constitution of 1849 granted freedom to all the inhabitants of the monarchy.

At the beginning of the 7th decade of the nineteenth century, Romanians and other ethnic groups are given political and religious rights. In 1865, however, the Transylvanian Diet from Cluj meets and further to their works the incorporation of Transylvania to Hungary is accepted. On this occasion, the principality's autonomy was abolished, the problems and concerns of this territory will be discussed and decided by the Diet in Budapest.

The Austrian state encountering deep crisis because of internal and external pressure will yield to Hungary, and in 1867 will create the dual Austro-Hungarian Empire. As a result of this agreement, Hungary was able to keep Transylvania. In the period that followed until the First World War, the population of non-Hungarian ethnicity underwent a process of Magyarization. This policy was supported by a series of laws designed for this purpose or by the abrogation of some favorable to the non-Magyar population, especially Romanian.

1 December 1918 brought the unification of Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș with Romania. The Romanian state guarantees by the constitution of 1923 individual and collective freedoms of all its citizens, regardless of nationality or religion.

The Religion Law of 1928 guarantees freedom and protection for all the denominations. The new Romanian administration thus favoured religious freedom for all nationalities found within its borders.

⁵ Mircea Brie, *Familie și societate în nord-vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX – începutul secolului XX)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2008.

The period 1940-1944 meant for Romanians from Bihor and Satu Mare a return to the difficult situation in ethno-confessional terms before the First World War. This period also knows the outbreak of the Second World War. This event will bring a profound change in the ethnic and religious structure. Most Jews were deported and exterminated in the concentration camps. This fact has most important connotations because this ethnic group had been a major ethnic and religious community in the region.

The liquidation of political pluralism with the communist regime at the lead introduced significant disturbances in the ethnic and religious structure. The communist state tried to create the same system in this area, as well. They attempted the homogenization of the population. They made decisions to ban churches – like the Greek-Catholic or protestant communities. At the same time, with the state's approval, the most part of the Hebrew, German and Hungarian ethnics migrated, considerably reducing their number in the region.

The post communist period brought a restoration of democratic principles and values. The fall of communism meant the end of the deprivation of religious rights in Romania. This led to profound changes in the confessional structure.

The recognition of the right to freedom of religious practice for 23 denominations and religious associations prepared a new period of religious transformation within the Romanian State. The Greek-Catholic Church was reopened and the emergence of a large number of other denominations are important events for this region.

These events, the opening of the borders, in conjunction with political acts made Romania enter into a much broader process of integration in a world open to intercultural values.

Bihor and Satu Mare Counties provide a picture of multiculturalism that combines into interculturalism through their geographical position and cultural influences, together with the ethnic and religious structure and by the traditional cross-border communication.

Without any reservations we find that political events, both national and international, are very important in determining the ethnic composition. Not only politics, but this structure too, are influencing factors. We identified other factors among which we mention the social, economic, cultural, geographic etc. factors⁶.

2. Evolution in the population ethnic structure.

This space is located in the western area and it is mainly inhabited by Romanians. The continuous presence of Romanians here is documented ever since its formation. The ethnic group of Romanians has been facing a

⁶ Mircea Brie, Sorin Şipoş, Ioan Horga (coord.), *Ethno-Confessional Realities in the Romanian Area: Historical Perspectives (XVIII-XX Centuries)*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea, 2011.

considerable demographic pressure that came from the Hungarians (the neighbouring ethnic group) or from groups or immigrants settled in this space (we refer in this case mainly to the Germans, Slovaks, Gypsies and Jews).

Ethnic structure until the 1918 Unification with Romania. According to a census run by the Hungarian state in 1880 in ***Bihor County***⁷, according to the spoken language, lived 446,777 inhabitants, of which 192,843 were Romanians (43.16%), 241,369 were Hungarians (54.02%), 482 Ruthenians (0,1%) 4,458 Germans (1%), 4,715 Slovaks (1.05%), 2,910 individuals were of other ethnicity (0.65%)⁸.

In the period 1839-1880 the population growth in Bihor County was uneven ethnically. The most significant growth is registered in the German community, in this case the increase was 146.1%. Hungarians in 1880 were 6.4% more than in 1839 and Romanians 26.9%.

The settlements of the current county, in 1880, according to the official census, recorded a number of 314,607 people. Of these 167,034 were Romanians, 125,996 were Hungarians, 3,665 were Germans, 4,805 were Slovaks, Ruthenians 396, 53 were Croats and Serbs, 567 foreign, 1,728 other nationalities, and other 10,363 people are listed in official census conducted by the Hungarian state as speaking an unknown language⁹.

The large share of Hungarians in Bihor County is easily explained by the fact that the county had a long extension to the west of the current limit of Bihor County. Also, we find that the ethnic Hungarian border is pushed from the plains to the hills where the Romanians were the majority. This process is due to the incorporation of Transylvania into Hungary, especially after 1867, when Magyarization becomes the official policy of the Hungarian state. Another aspect is related to the massive colonization of the Slovak population in the entire region of Crișana. Regarding 1900, the available data meets our requirements for determining the ethnic structure of the Bihor region. This time as well we used the same criterion for the delimitation of nationalities, ethnic groups, namely language. But this criterion is less relevant given that the Hungarian language was imposed as the official language, and in these conditions many of those who were part of the census declared themselves as speaking Hungarian¹⁰.

In 1900, the year in which another census is conducted in the rural Bihor of today, the records show 418,816 inhabitants. Of these, 217,025 spoke

⁷ The former Bihor County was more extended than it is now; places that were part of it back then are now part of the Hungarian state

⁸ Alexandru Ilieș, *Etnie, confesiune și comportament electoral în Crișana și Maramureș*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 154-156

⁹ Traian Rotariu, *Recensământului din 1880; Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 361

¹⁰ Mircea Brie, „Compoziția etnică a Bihorului”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, Fascicula Istorie*, 2003, p. 145-147.

Romanian as their mother tongue, 188,601 Hungarian, 3341 German, 7809 Slovakian, 82 Ruthenian, 134 Croatian, 28 Serbian and 1,796 other languages¹¹. In Bihor county from the category of two major ethnic groups lived 204,515 Hungarians, i.e. 43.6% and 232,572 Romanians, i.e. 49.6% of the total. Of all Romanians, in 1900 only about 1.8% percent lived in urban areas, 28.4% of Hungarians residing in urban areas. This situation is largely due to the privileges enjoyed by the Magyars from the Hungarian state. These privileges resulted in the award of the most important public or state administration positions¹².

The population census conducted by Hungary in 1880, recorded in *Satu Mare* county the existence of a population of 194,326 inhabitants, of which 76,668 spoke Romanian as their mother tongue, 95,681 were Hungarians, 13,449 were German, 396 were Slovaks, 578 were Ruthenians, 169 were Croats and Serbs, and 1,592 were of other nationalities.

In 1900, the same settlements numbered 245,855 inhabitants, of which 93,591 were Romanians, 138,086 were Hungarians, 12,165 were German, 455 were Slovaks, 643 were Ruthenians, 219 were Croats and Serbs, 695 were of other nationalities.

To understand what happens in the ethnic structure of Bihor County, we believe it is very beneficial to look at the same phenomenon, but in relation to the whole of Transylvania. We will briefly report the evolution of the main ethnic groups in Transylvania in the period 1880 – 1910¹³.

Romanians, in 1880, accounted for 55.07% of the population of Transylvania, their share will fall to 54.98% in 1900 and 53.74% in 1910. All this, however, in terms of population growth rate of Romanians of 27.1%, with a real increase of 2,224,336 (1880) to 2,827,419 (1910).

Hungarians in the same period knew a reverse development from the Romanians. Their share increased from 25.05% (1880) to 29.54% (1900) and 31.6% (1910). In absolute figures, the increase was from 1,012,154 (1880) to 1,662,180 (1910).

German-born population increased numbers from 485,917 in 1880 to 564,559 in 1910. Percentage-wise, in the same period the German population knew a decline from 12.03% to 10.73%.

Other ethnic groups, less significant in number, evolved similarly to other non-Hungarian ethnic groups.

The ethnic composition of Transylvania, the evolution of this structure, is able to highlight what happens in Bihor County.

¹¹ Idem, *Recensământului din 1900, Transilvania*, București, 1999, p. 614-615

¹² Mircea Brie, „Etnie și confesiune în nord-vestul României (sec. XIX). Referințe metodologice”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, Fascicula Istorie*, 2002, p. 99-110

¹³ Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX. Realități etno-confesionale și politici demografice*, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, p. 14

Evolution of ethnic structure after the unification with Romania in 1918. Romania enters World War I in 1916 on the Entente side, the latter pledging Romanian State full support for obtaining all Romanian territories inhabited by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Territorial losses were only temporary, they will be restored in 1919 at the Versailles Peace Conference where decisions from Chişinău and Alba Iulia are recognized, and in addition Bukovina is recognized as an entry to the Romanian state. The only areas that are not recognized are several villages on the Hungarian-Romanian border (which will be returned in 1920) and also in the Banat area (which will feed into the Serbia). At the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary, Romania regained villages given to Hungary in 1919.

Bihor was directly influenced by these changes. It will be divided in accordance with the Treaties of Paris between the Romanian and Hungarian states. As a demarcation line is taken the ethnic boundary.

Changes that occur after World War influenced the demographic structure of the Romanian state. The reunification of Romania was accompanied by significant changes in terms of ethno-confessional structure.

An important effect was an increase in the population of Romania; it almost doubled. Another demographic effect was an increase in the population of other ethnic groups (non-Romanian) and other religions (other than orthodox). Within the borders of the Romanian state, according to the 1930 census, lived about 5 million people belonging to various nationalities (28.1 % of the population). This percentage varies from one region to another. The share of the Romanian community in Transylvania was 57.6%, in 60.7 % Crişana - Maramures, Banat 54.4 %, 58.2 % Bessarabia, Bukovina 44.5 % and in Dobrogea 44.2 %¹⁴.

Other important events, which we determined to have influenced the territorial and the demographic structure were those related to the transformations after the Second World War. In the summer of 1940, Romania will lose much of its territory (100,000 km²), which only in part will be able to recover after the war.

Changes occurring in the population of North-Western Romania after 1918 can only be seen if searching the census conducted by the Romanian government in 1930¹⁵. This highlights its first recording instances of Hebrew and Gypsy population.

We can see many changes taking place compared to the previous period. These changes have two important causes, they can be real changes or only changes in the census data. The latter are determined by a different methodology for population registration.

¹⁴ Cornelia Mureşan, *Evoluţia demografică a României. Tendinţe vechi, schimbări recente, perspective. (1870-2030)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p.50

¹⁵ *Recensământul general al populaţiei din 29 decembrie 1930*, Institutul Central de Statistică, Bucureşti, 1938.

Among the factors contributing to these changes include:

- before, how ethnicity was reviewed was based on the spoken language, but in 1930 the census introduced the nation. Under these conditions the population belonging to certain ethnic groups, other than Hungarians, rose in parallel with the decrease of Hungarians (the decrease was due the changes in Hungarian speakers with a nationality other than Hungarian).
- the Romanian government replaces the Hungarian one in 1918, this will result in a change of attitude towards ethnic groups.
- at the regional level there is a migration of the Hungarians to Hungary; this process is accompanied by Jewish immigration to the region.

The change in the ethnic structure is clearly visible in both areas, but especially in the urban area. The ethnic structure of Oradea, for example, changed alot. Important is the emergence of the Jewish ethnic group, and also the increasing ethnic group of Romanians. Both are combined with the decrease in the share of Hungarians.

Across the region of Crişana-Maramures¹⁶, Romanians represented 61.4%. The most important minority was represented by Hungarians, with 24.9 percent; they were followed by Hebrew (6.3%) and German (3.1%) populations, etc.

What is interesting in terms of ethnicity is the structure of the population on environments, urban or rural. Hungarians are the most numerous inhabitants of the urban area of Crişana-Maramureş region, with 45.6%, followed by Romanians with 30.8% and Jews with 18.9% - interesting is that the Jews are the only ethnic group living mainly in urban areas (53.2% of all Jews). In general, in towns, we find a relative balance between people of Hungarian, Romanian and Hebrew descent.

In the rural areas the majority is formed by the Romanian population, with 66.7%; this ensures the predominance of ethnic Romanians in the region¹⁷ (at that time 84.1% of the population of this region lived in rural areas).

From a demographic perspective, the aftermath meant a substantial increase in population. By the next census significant changes take place in the ethnic structure of the region. The increasing population in numbers during the interwar period was followed by a demographic disaster with the outbreak of the Second World War. This World War brought significant demographic imbalances ranging from population decline (phenomenon due to high mortality, and low birth rates, due to marriage or emigration).

Most affected ethnically were the Jews. Their number in the counties of Bihor and Satu Mare decreased considerably because of concentration and

¹⁶ Alexandru Ilieş, *op.cit.*, p.161

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 163

extermination camps and their emigration to regions where Hitler-Horthyst terror was not felt so strongly. At a rate of 6.3%, as represented the Jewish ethnic group (in the region Crișana-Maramureș) in 1930, in 1948 it was only 0.7 %¹⁸.

In 1966¹⁹, Bihor county population amounted to 586,460 inhabitants. Of these, 377,837 were Romanian nationals, 192,948 were Hungarians, 1106 were Germans, 3678 were Gypsies, Ukrainians and Ruthenians were 63, 114 were Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 147 were Russians, 1798 were Hebrew, 7813 were Slovaks, 85 were Bulgarians, 581 were Greek, the rest of the population either have undeclared nationality or other nationalities were included but in small numbers. Among other ethnic groups represented: Tatars, Turks, Czechs, Poles, Armenians etc.

1992 was the year when another census was conducted by the Romanian state. During the communist period there were significant demographic changes. We record ethnically massive emigration (which was helped more or less by the political authorities of the Romanian state), especially the representatives of certain ethnic groups. Here is to mention especially the Germans, Jews and Hungarians.

Opening the borders after 1989 led to intensification of emigration. And this time it is more intense among ethnic minorities.

This process is general, applicable to the whole of Romania. In the region of Crișana-Maramureș the Romanian population share rose to 70.6%. The Romanian population increased by 52.2% since 1930²⁰. The Hungarian population in the same region in 1992, representing 22.8%, in this case the increase was only 21.1% compared to 1930. The highest increase will be with the Gypsies, 176.8% (with 2.6% of the total population); they were followed by Ukrainians, an increase of 58.0% (in 1992 represented 1.9% of the total population Crișana-Maramureș –they were mainly living in Maramureș).

Other major ethnic groups, namely the Germans, Slovaks and Jews experienced a sharp decline in numerical terms. Germans fell by 51.1 % compared to 1930, Slovaks by 64.1 %, Jews fell by 99.0 %.

The ethnic changes that occur in the second half of the twentieth century are obvious. These demographic changes and mutations have various causes, among them an important place is taken by political, economic, cultural, social or demographic decisions taken by the communist state of Romania during this period.

These changes are due, not least, to the vicinity of the Hungarian state. In the border area the effects of these changes are more obvious. The border region appears as an area of mixed ethnic groups; also in this region we notice enclaves

¹⁸ *Ibidem*

¹⁹ ***, *Recensământul populației și locuințelor din 15 martie 1966*, Institutul Național de Statistică, București, 1968, p. 153

²⁰ Alexandru Ilieș, *op.cit.*, p. 165

of ethnic communities that have a different character from that of the surrounding population. This situation has made it almost impossible to separate states, boundaries or borders, the borderline being possible only if taking account the ethnicity criterion.

The new European trends, the subverting results of certain national-chauvinist policies, the need for cross-border cooperation, or intercultural communication required a different vision on ethnic angle at the late twentieth century and early nineteenth century. Regardless of the current trends we intend to establish relationships between various demographic structures in terms of ethnic or religious approaches.

We believe that what was once an obstacle, namely the ethnic diversity of a country, now it can turn into an advantage, namely that of the diversity, of cultures and of building a common culture.

Evolution in numbers of main ethnic groups in Bihor and Satu Mare counties

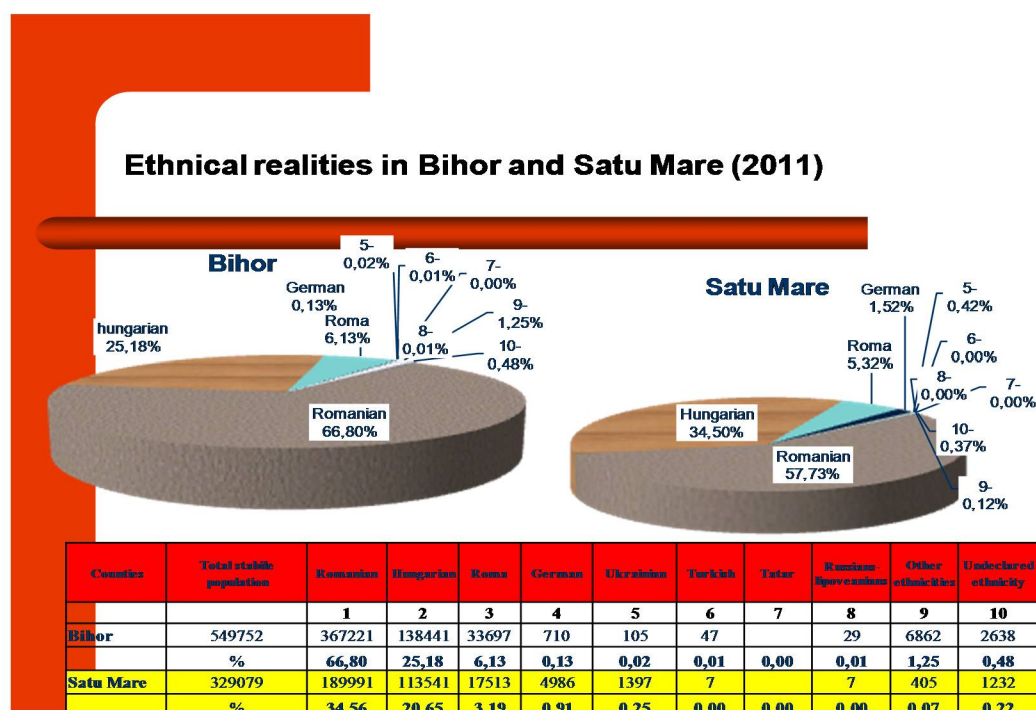
County	Year	Total Population	Romanians	Hungarians	Roma
BIHOR					
	1930	527216	308478	171907	6211
	1956	574488	362345	194883	3333
	1966	586460	377837	192948	3678
	1977	633094	409770	199615	12014
	1992	638863	425097	181703	21796
	2002	600246	404468	155829	30089
	2011	549.752	367.221	138.441	33.697
SATU MARE					
	1930	301105	147135	95104	4787
	1956	337351	180930	145880	2283
	1966	359393	203780	147594	1750
	1977	393840	227630	152738	5256
	1992	400789	234541	140392	9823
	2002	367281	216085	129258	13478
	2011	329.079	189.991	113.541	17.513

Source: Institutul Național de Statistică

(see: <http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/RPL2002INS/vol4/tabele/t1.pdf>)

The last census conducted by the Romanian state to date was conducted in 2011. We intend to highlight what happened in the ethnic structure, so to be able to see which were the trends during the new democracy that has taken place in Romania. We believe that this census is able to respond to these issues better than the one done in 1992, just a few years from the communist regime change.

According to this census, the ethnic composition of Bihor and Satu Mare counties is as follows:



Sursa: <http://www.recensamantromania.ro>

What can be seen is a significant increase in the percentage that the Roma population has in the region. This increase is mainly due to two cases, namely: on the one hand, this phenomenon is due to a high birth rate of the Roma ethnic population, and on the other hand, to a new approach and attitudes towards the registration of the population. Even now, according to opinion polls ethnic Roma have not fully declared their ethnicity.

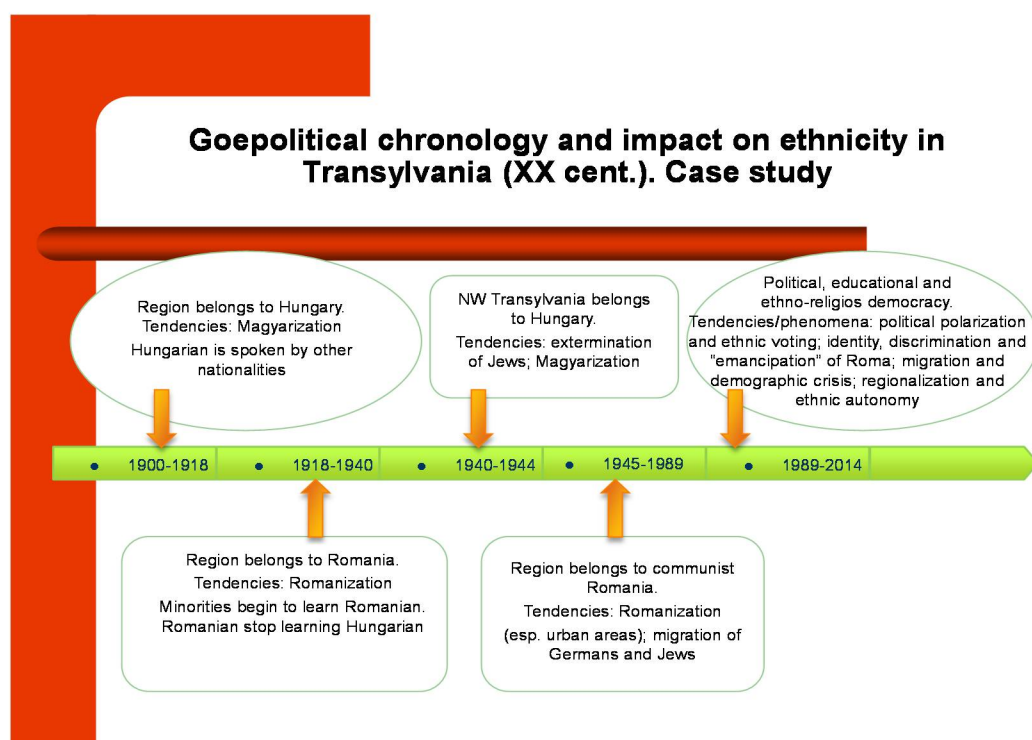
Another aspect is related to the disappearance of almost all communities of ethnic Germans and Jews.

The visible trend is ethnic uniformity, by shaping of two groups towards others migrate, namely: Romanians and Hungarians. A single case deviates from this trend and this is the Roma. The latter are, however, largely magyarised in the Bihor and Satu Mare counties.

3. Tendencies and major changes

Major geopolitical changes of the twentieth century and political decisions, especially extremist dictatorial regimes (Horthyist-Hungarian and communist-Romanian) led to significant changes in the ethnic structure of the region northwest Transylvania.

Policy decisions, especially those taken during the dictatorial political and extremist regimes during the twentieth century, were able to seriously affect ethno-religious realities of the Romanian space, especially in Transylvania²¹. Be it the Hungarian or Romanian authorities during the two world wars or the communist dictatorship, decisions were taken that changed the ethnic map of the Romanian space²². Suffice it to recall the drama of the Jewish community of the Second World War or the “sale” of the Germans and the Jews by the Communists in the postwar period.



On the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, on ethno-linguistic composition of the population in this region we recorded the following:

- The disappearance of almost absolute majority of Jews and Germans
- The Romanization, especially of the urban settlements (the phenomenon began in the interwar period with the establishment of the Romanian government in cities that needed a true and Romanian-speaking elite)

²¹ Mircea Brie, Cosmin Adrian Pop, Istvan Polgar, *Interculturality and Ethnodiversity in Post-Communist Romania*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, Seria Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene*, 2012, p. 111-121.

²² Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș (coord.), *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, Editura Universității din Debrecen/Editura Universității din Oradea, Debrecen/Oradea, 2011.

- Continuous magyarization of Swabians, Slovaks and Roma (the phenomenon is favored by religious affinities, and language - mostly these communities were Magyarized before 1918)
- From a linguistic point of view, after nearly a century, the major change is given by the following fact: in 1918 Hungarian was known by most Romanians, a small share of Hungarians knowing Romanian; in 2014 Romanian is known by most Hungarians and only a small proportion of Romanians speak Hungarian.
- Education and religion appear to be exponents of Hungarian ethnic identity. This process is achieved through the traditional Calvinist Protestant Church (Reformed) and recently more and more by the Roman Catholic Church (the latter in the area of Oradea was seen by Protestant Hungarian nobility in the eighteenth century as an Habsburg imperialist tool, later, however, in order to attract the Hungarian community, it entered into competition with the Hungarian Protestant churches taking the Hungarian ethno-cultural message and identity).
- Discrimination and stigmatization of the Roma. These took effect as “reducing” the community in official documents due to self-identification with other ethnic groups. The effect of this phenomenon is not just recording a smaller number of Roma in official documents, but also artificially raising the numbers of Hungarians in documents (in the area of Bihor-Satu Mare Roma identify themselves with other ethnic groups and choose to first declare their ethnicity as being Hungarian). This was at a larger scale during the communist period but it began to decrease during the last two decades.
- Increasing the Roma community both in number and as a percentage of the population. Underlying this trend: high birth rates among this community (however, the phenomenon is associated with other demographic realities: high mortality and low life expectancy in the community) and a higher percentage of those who identify themselves with their ethnic group. This latter aspect is related to strengthening communities, their identity consciousness, the formation of an own elite more present in public sphere, and not least reducing discrimination and stigma effects which are still present.

**SUI ROMENI E SUGLI ALTRI (1910 – 1939).
IMMAGINI DI SĂCELE, DELLA BASARABIA,
DELL'EUROPA CENTRALE NELLA MEMORIALISTICA E
NELLA CORRISPONDENZA DEL DOCENTE
UNIVERSITARIO VICTOR JINGA.**

Mihai DRECIN*
Delia CORA**

Abstract. *Professor Victor Jinga (1901-1990), the son of a shepherd from Satulung – Săcelele Braşovului, was a personality in inter-war Romania. After graduating the Superior Commercial School of Braşov in 1920, he attended the Superior Institute of Economical Sciences in Venice (1920-1925), where he also obtained his PhD.*

He was a professor, the rector of the Academy of High Education in Commerce and Industry in Cluj – Braşov (1940-1945), an economist specialized in cooperation, a politician – a member of the National Peasant Party, national leader of the National Peasant Youth, a deputy and a member in the governments of 1939. During the Communist regime he was imprisoned for political reasons (1949-1954, 1959-1963). In his last years of activity he was a researcher at the Institute for Economic Research of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (1963-1973). During 1926-1946, 1963-1990 he wrote and published reference specialized articles, studies and books in the field of economic sciences and history.

In his memoirs, still in manuscript, and in his preserved correspondence, one finds very interesting hints to the way he perceived the Csángó from Săcele, the Romanians, the Gagauz, the Germans, the Khazaks and the Russians from the South of Bessarabia, the Hungarians, Austrians and Italians from the Eastern Europe whom he knew in his scientific and political wanderings.

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Victor Jinga's considerations, some more detailed, others brief, allow us to comprehend the very broad way in which the Romanians perceived "the Other's" image as a neighbour or a stranger.

Keywords: *Victor Jinga, Săcelele Braşovului, Bessarabia, Central Europe, Romanians, "the Other's" image.*

Victor Jinga è stata una personalità molto nota nel periodo 1926 -1948, in veste di docente universitario presso l'Accademia di Alti Studi Commerciali ed Industriali di Cluj, Rettore di quest'istituzione accademica durante la Seconda Guerra mondiale, quando l'università rumena si era rifugiata a Braşov, iniziatore ed organizzatore del sistema cooperativo in Transilvania, ma anche uomo politico, che ha fatto parte dal Partidul Naţional Ţărănesc (Partito Nazionale Contadino), ed è stato leader del *Tineretul Naţional Ţărănesc* (Gioventù Nazionale Contadina), deputato nel Parlamento della Romania e membro di alcuni governi nel 1939 in qualità di sottosegretario di stato presso il Ministero dell'Economia Nazionale, responsabile del sistema cooperativo¹. In questo periodo ebbe anche un'intensa attività pubblicistica, pubblicando studi ed articoli in riviste specialistiche e nella pubblicistica dell'epoca², nonché sostenendo conferenze su temi economici e politici. Il punto d'arrivo dei suoi studi a carattere scientifico è il libro in due tomi: *Problemele fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, pubblicato nel 1945 a Braşov, a spese dell'autore. Per questo libro vinse il Premio dell'Accademia Romena nel 1946; il libro fu inoltre usato dalla delegazione rumena che partecipava alla Conferenza di Pace di Parigi (1946 – 1947), come una fonte importantissima di argomenti sui diritti dei rumeni in Transilvania.

Dopo pesantissimi anni di carcere comunista (tra 15 agosto 1949 – 13 agosto 1954; 16 marzo 1959 – 16 gennaio 1963)³, grazie al sostegno di un suo vecchio amico, l'accademico Ilie Murgulescu, all'epoca ministro dell'Educazione, venne assunto come ricercatore presso l'Istituto di ricerche economiche dell'Accademia Romena, nell'agosto 1963, dove lavorerà fino al momento del pensionamento, nel 1973. Sempre nell'autunno del 1963, grazie al

¹ Vedi i dettagli in Mihai D. Drecin, *Postfața* al volume Victor Jinga, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, seconda edizione, Editura Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Braşov, 1995, a cura di Mihai D. Drecin e Margareta Susana Spănu, p. 703-722

² Vedi in *Ibidem*, una *Bibliografie selectiva* di 43 studi, corsi universitari e libri pubblicati tra 1929 – 1946, 1970-1991, p. 743-745. Gli studi postumi, pubblicati dopo il 1991, sono apparsi a cura di Mihai D. Drecin.

³ Mihai D. Drecin, *Victor Jinga și închisorile sale (1945 – 1963)*, in *Studii de istorie economică și istoria gândirii economice*, Tomo V, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2003, p. 117-125; Idem, „Al doilea proces politic al grupului Jinga (1959 -1961)”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, Fascicola: Istorie-Arheologie, Tomo XVI, Oradea, 2005, pp. 133-138.

sostegno di un altro amico, Grigore Geamănu, avvocato, ottiene il libretto di residenza a Bucarest, fatto che gli assicura una certa stabilità in ambito lavorativo⁴.

Reinserito in un ambiente intellettuale di punta, in cui, accanto a una nuova generazione di ricercatori, ritrovò molti docenti universitari della sua generazione, che avevano vissuto più o meno le medesime esperienze politiche, come ad esempio la detenzione nelle carceri comuniste, il professor Victor Jinga riprese le sue ricerche, ritornò a pubblicare ed a partecipare a sessioni scientifiche a carattere nazionale ed anche internazionale. A partire dal 1970 ha pubblicato quattro studi in riviste di storia, nazionali ed internazionali, e due libri importantissimi presso la Casa Editrice Dacia di Cluj Napoca. Altri suoi lavori rimasero in forma manoscritta o incompiuta, sui quali ha continuato a lavorare intensamente anche fuori dall'Istituto, nei suoi momenti liberi⁵.

Dopo la sua morte, avvenuta il 1 luglio 1990, presso la nuova Università di Oradea è stato organizzato un Convegno sulla "Vita e attività del professore ed economista Victor Jinga". Tra il 1992 e il 2011, sono stati organizzati altri convegni in diversi centri universitari, legati all'attività scientifica del Professore: a Oradea (1992, 2004), Braşov (1994), Cluj- Napoca (1996, 2006), Bucarest (1998, presso l'Accademia di Studi Economici, 2001 e 2012 presso l'Accademia Romena), a Sighişoara (2002) e a Săcele – Braşov (2009). Parte degli studi presentati in queste occasioni sono stati pubblicati in riviste di specialità di Oradea, Cluj- Napoca, Bucarest. Gli incontri scientifici hanno avuto il merito di riportare al centro dell'attenzione di una nuova generazione di studiosi la personalità complessa di Victor Jinga. A Sighişoara è stata affissa una targa sulla parete della casa nel cui semi-interrato aveva abitato la famiglia del professore, in domicilio coatto, tra il 1952 ed il 1963, periodo di transizione tra le due carcerazioni politiche (1954 – 1959); la Scuola media nr. 4 della stessa località è stata inoltre intitolata all'insegnante economista⁶.

Victor Jinga, figlio di un pastore di Satulung – Săcelele Braşovului, nato il 17 febbraio/ 2 marzo 1901, dopo la scuola dell'obbligo frequentata nel paese

⁴ Dati forniti dalla signora Livia Onişor-Jinga, la moglie del Professore, nel 1993.

⁵ Mihai D. Drecin, „Lucrări în manuscris ale profesorului Victor Jinga”, in *Analele Universităţii din Oradea*, Serie: Istorie-Arheologie-Filozofie, Tomo III, Oradea, 1993, p. 117-120; Idem, „Economistul Victor Jinga în viaţa ştiinţifică şi publicistică românească din perioada comunistă (1964-1989)”, in *Analele Universităţii din Oradea*, Fascicolo: Istorie-Arheologie, Tomo XVI, Oradea, 2005, p. 217-224.

⁶ Ion Zainea, Mihai D. Drecin, iniţiatorul, organizatorul şi sufletul Simpozionului Naţional «Din viaţa şi activitatea profesorului economist Victor Jinga», nel volume *Istorie, Economie, Politică. Profesorului Mihai D. Drecin la împlinirea vârstei de 65 de ani*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, 2009, p. 29-35. Specifichiamo che tra il 1990 e il 2012 Mihai D. Drecin ha pubblicato, in volumi ed in riviste di specialità, più di 19 studi sulla vita e sull'attività del professor Victor Jinga; vedi nello stesso tomo i titoli nella „Bibliografie selectivă a operei prof. univ. Dr. Mihai D. Drecin”, p. 48-57.

natio, continua gli studi presso la Scuola commerciale superiore di Braşov, dove consegue il diploma nel 1920. Tra il 1920 e il 1925 segue i corsi universitari presso l'Istituto Superiore di Scienze Economiche di Venezia, una delle più antiche e note accademie commerciali dell'epoca. Nel febbraio del 1925 sostiene la tesi di dottorato con il tema *Le riforme agrarie e lo sviluppo del credito popolare in Romania*⁷. Subito dopo ritorna in patria, desideroso di contribuire al consolidamento del Regno Romeno da poco riunito (1918/1919).

Fine osservatore di ciò che gli accadeva intorno, dotato dell'arte della scrittura, con una raffinata capacità di descrizione propria di un prosatore, Victor Jinga presenta nelle sue *Memorii*⁸, conservate in manoscritto, paesaggi, luoghi ed eventi, realizza ritratti eccezionali di alcuni personaggi politici che ha conosciuto personalmente, sorprende mentalità e comportamenti dei romeni e degli altri popoli vicini, in particolare le altre etnie con cui condividevano il medesimo spazio geografico, illustra e spiega le condizioni economiche della popolazione, suggerendo soluzioni di rinnovamento e di modernizzazione per superare il regime di autosufficienza e per rendere possibile l'avvicinamento al modello europeo occidentale di lavoro e di vita.

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Le prime rievocazioni presenti nelle *Memorie* sono quelle del paese natale, Satulung. Dopo la collocazione geografica dei “sette paesi di Săcele”⁹, vengono descritte le caratteristiche delle fattorie, la civiltà rurale tradizionale ed i rapporti tra i rumeni ed i ceangăi¹⁰.

Satulung, il più popoloso dei sette paesi di Săcele, all'epoca dell'infanzia e dell'adolescenza di Victor Jinga era abitato da romeni e da ceangăi in pari proporzioni. Le abitazioni dei romeni, adeguandosi alla loro principale occupazione, vale a dire la pastorizia transumante, erano situate vicino alle montagne e ai boschi, dove si trovavano le greggi di pecore e le dipendenze (stalle, fabbricati, depositi). I ceangăi abitavano nella parte vicina alla pianura, si

⁷ Mihai D. Drecin, „Postfață” al tomo Victor Jinga, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, p. 704-705; Idem, „Professor Victor Jinga. Family and School”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, Serie: Istorie- Arheologie, Tomo XVIII, 2008, p. 189-199.

⁸ Il Professore incomincia a scrivere la sua memorialistica a 75 anni (nel 1976). Le memorie si fermano all'anno 1939. Senza titolo, noi le abbiamo chiamate *Reflexiuni și consemnări*, espressione trovata proprio nella prima pagina delle annotazioni; si tratta di 289 pagine trascritte in un quaderno dalla signora Maria Jinga. La trascrizione della signora Jinga ci è stata messa a disposizione allo scopo di realizzare una monografia dedicata alla vita ed all'attività del Professore.

⁹ Baciú, Cernatu, Satulung, Turcheş, Tărlugeni, Purcăreni, Zizin.

¹⁰ I ceangăi sono una popolazione di origine incerta. La storiografia ungherese li considera magiari romenizzati, la storiografia romena li considera romeni magiarizzati.

occupavano dell'agricoltura, dello sfruttamento dei boschi e dell'allevamento del bestiame, praticando anche alcuni mestieri – lavori in muratura, carpenteria. I ceangăi erano operosi e buoni amministratori, con alcune asprezze nella fisionomia, nella lingua, nelle abitudini, poco aperti alla cultura e ai valori spirituali, scrive Victor Jinga. Inizialmente la terra per l'agricoltura era poca in rapporto al numero delle famiglie appartenenti alla comunità dei ceangăi. Col tempo, i ceangăi hanno comprato la terra dai romeni, i quali “scontenti di navigare in cattive acque (in realtà si trattava dell'ostruzionismo da parte delle autorità ungheresi – n.n.), avevano esteso la loro attività oltre il confine oppure vi si erano insediati in maniera definitiva”. Le case dei romeni erano allineate, la maggior parte essendo costruite in pietra, con un'architettura accurata influenzata da quella dei villaggi collinari o di montagna della Muntenia o di Moldavia. Le case dei ceangăi “erano accalcate una sull'altra, senza alcuna preoccupazione estetica, in un'ottica puramente funzionale, con pochissimi spazi verdi. Le dimore dei romeni rivelano la loro propensione per il bello e il pittoresco, la parte più interessante dei villaggi essendo quella romena”. Fino alla “Prima Guerra i ceangăi avevano, in genere, abitazioni modeste, moltissime case e dipendenze erano in legno e con tetti di paglia”¹¹.

Le autorità ungheresi dell'epoca del Dualismo austro-ungarico si sono impegnate moltissimo per attirare i ceangăi dalla propria parte. Hanno aperto scuole e offerto borse ai giovani per studiare a Budapest, hanno concesso crediti bancari per lo sviluppo delle fattorie dei ceangăi, sostenendoli nei loro affari. Tuttavia, “i risultati culturali sono stati mediocri”, tra le loro fila sono nati pochissimi intellettuali. “La forza di lavoro dei ceangăi, che era superiore alle possibilità di assorbimento a Săcele, trovava sbocco soprattutto a Bucarest (dove erano impegnati come servi, stallieri, artigiani) ed in altre città della Valachia. I ceangăi non avevano alcun tipo di legame materiale con le popolazioni magiare occidentali, i loro rapporti esterni si dirigevano, quasi esclusivamente, verso i paesi romeni”¹².

Sui contatti quotidiani tra i romeni ed i ceangăi, Victor Jinga scrive: “nelle relazioni inevitabili con i ceangăi si parlava solo in romeno. I romeni, popolo latino, avevano e hanno tuttora una concezione di vita evoluta, con una spiccata vocazione per la cultura, per il progresso e il confort; comunicativi, apprezzano il bello, che è presente ovunque nella loro vita: dagli interni curati delle loro case, ai tessuti pregiati, ai vestiti, amano i fiori, hanno chiese dall'architettura artisticamente proporzionata e ornata. Tutto questo ha portato a una ineluttabile gerarchia dei valori tra le due nazionalità, di cui i ceangăi sono consapevoli [...]. La loro considerazione nei confronti dei romeni trova espressione nell'imitazione dei costumipopolari romeni (per gli uomini) e di alcune loro abitudini, nonché

¹¹Victor Jinga, *Reflexiuni și consemnări*, in manoscritto, p. 3, 21, 22, 23.

¹²*Ibidem*, p. 22.

nella frequentazione, durante le grandi feste religiose romene, delle nostre chiese da parte di alcuni ceangăi, specialmente le donne”¹³.

Nonostante questo, gli sforzi delle autorità magiare nell’incoraggiare i sentimenti antiromeni della popolazione dei ceangăi hanno dato i risultati sperati. Victor Jinga descrive come “fin dall’infanzia e dall’adolescenza i ricordi sui compaesani ceangăi sono tra i più sgradevoli. Quando noi, bambini romeni, attraversavamo la parte magiara del villaggio, spesso ci capitava di essere accolti con pietre lanciate contro di noi dai bambini ceangăi. D’inverno, quando i bambini romeni andavano sulle slitte, nella parte romena del villaggio dove c’erano le piste adatte, i bambini ceangăi cercavano sempre pretesti per litigare e spesso i litigi finivano in zuffe e legnate. Quando i romeni organizzavano i balli chiamati „sintilia”, i giovani ciangăi vi facevano irruzione, spesso ubriachi (ma non sempre) e rovinavano la festa, insultando i romeni [...]. Questo sciovinismo, barbaro e provocatorio, era praticato contro di noi, romeni, da tutte le generazioni e le categorie professionali magiare, non solo a Săcele, ma anche nelle altre regioni di contatto dei romeni con i magiari. Questo era il risultato della pedagogia dell’odio patologico indirizzato contro di noi, propagato e coltivato in tutte le classi e le categorie sociali, anche fra gli intellettuali, con pochissime ed insignificanti eccezioni. Tutto questo accadeva sotto la protezione delle autorità, ed era l’espressione di un’educazione che trasformava il potere statale in uno strumento di oppressione delle minoranze etniche”¹⁴.

Riflettendo su queste realtà, Victor Jinga, cerca di definire i rapporti tra i romeni ed i ceangăi fino al 1918/19: “I romeni ed i ceangăi vivono in Săcele gli uni accanto agli altri, ma non gli uni con altri. Tra questi due popoli si sono stabiliti solo rapporti di interessi minori, non si sono mai sposati tra di loro, essendo separati dalla religione, dalla lingua, dalla gerarchia dei valori, dal temperamento, dalla formazione culturale, dalle capacità e dalla filosofia di vita. La bilancia dei valori pesava indubbiamente a favore dei romeni”¹⁵. Dopo il 1920, vivendo nello stato romeno, la vita e la mentalità di molti ceangăi è cambiata. Hanno avuto la possibilità di prosperare economicamente e culturalmente, l’industrializzazione della zona di Săcele ha contribuito all’attenuazione delle rivalità etniche, all’aumento dei matrimoni misti, facendo la sua comparsa la tendenza alla uniformazione etnica¹⁶.

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Nel processo tradizionale della transumanza, i romeni di tutte le regioni storiche hanno portato le loro greggi di pecore verso la Dobrogea, arrivando fino

¹³*Ibidem*, p 23-23 bis.

¹⁴*Ibidem*, p. 4-5.

¹⁵*Ibidem*, p. 4.

¹⁶*Ibidem*, p. 29.

nel Sud della Bessarabia, in Transnistria, in Crimea, nelle steppe del Kuban, persino ai piedi dei Caucaso. Qui trovavano immensi pascoli di erba e giuncheto, affittabili a buon prezzo, una politica più indulgente del fisco e una amministrazione come quella russa, lontana da quella moderna, europea, nonché un clima mite e la possibilità di rivendere i propri prodotti a prezzi convenienti.

Il nonno, il padre e il fratello maggiore di Victor Jinga portavano le loro pecore in Dobrogea e nel sud della Basarabia. Anche il giovane Victor Jinga vi ha passato alcune sue vacanze estive, e poi, durante la Prima Guerra mondiale (1915 -1918), tutta la famiglia ha vissuto in queste regioni. I pascoli erano vicino a Cimișlia e Babele, presso Bolgrad, poi a Cioromârza, presso a Romanincu, provincia di Tighina¹⁷. Così il giovane Victor ha avuto l'opportunità di conoscere nella maniera più diretta i romeni di Bessarabia e le altre etnie locali, alcune di loro portate come coloni dall'Impero Zarista dopo il 1812, riuscendo a comprendere meglio le strategie dell'amministrazione zarista nei confronti degli abitanti di quelle zone.

Victor Jinga considera i moldavi della Bessarabia un ramo della romanità carpato-danubiano-pontica, oppressa dalla storia, che ha resistito alla russificazione per mezzo della conservazione delle tradizioni e della lingua, nella cui anima la coscienza della propria appartenenza nazionale, a lungo nascosta, si era palesata con decisione e in tutto il suo splendore nella primavera del 1918.

I "moldavi" della Bessarabia sono tradizionalisti, pii, bonari ed ospitali, ma non refrattari o chiusi agli ammodernamenti, che consideravano anzi necessari per migliorare il proprio tenore di vita e i guadagni derivati dal duro lavoro quotidiano. Questa mentalità li ha salvati dalla russificazione.

Nell'autunno del 1917, il villaggio Cioromârza, situato alla periferia del grande Impero Russo, viene raggiunto dalle caotiche ondate rivoluzionarie, che arrivavano dal centro in ritardo e con forza attenuata¹⁸. Le notizie sulle rivolte dei contadini e sullo sbandò dell'esercito zarista che abbandonava il fronte arrivano fino alla masseria dei Jinga. Per proteggere la propria famiglia, il padre di Victor si sposta nel villaggio, essendo ospitato e ben accolto dai romeni di Bessarabia¹⁹.

Su questo sfondo di tensioni politiche e sociali, un giorno, la masseria della famiglia, situata a 3-4 km di distanza dal villaggio Cioromârza, viene assalita da un gruppo di găgăuzi, noti per essere dediti ai saccheggi. La famiglia Jinga viene salvata da un gruppo di 20-30 cavalieri cosacchi, che a nome delle autorità russe proteggevano l'ordine sociale. "Dopo una breve conversazione avuta da mio padre con i soldati cosacchi - scrive Victor Jinga - questi, dopo un breve ristoro, sono montati sui cavalli e, disciplinati, si sono allontanati"²⁰.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 41- 43.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

I coloni tedeschi della zona erano inospitali, individualisti, chiusi nella loro propria comunità, non erano disposti ad aiutare uno straniero che si trovava in difficoltà.

La precaria libertà individuale che veniva concessa dai dominatori russi ai popoli non russi è considerata da Victor Jinga come un inganno, un'insidia "più pericolosa della violenza impotente dei magiari" di Transilvania. Si tratta di un metodo insidioso, spinge all'indifferenza, al disinteresse e all' rassegnazione – atteggiamenti che favoriscono l'assimilazione etnica. La violenza, invece, genera reazioni da parte dell'oppresso, lo spinge ad organizzarsi e a combattere, rafforza il sentimento nazionale²¹. In questa situazione si trovavano anche i romeni della Bessarabia.

L'occhio dell'economista, giunto all'età della saggezza, ripensando a quello che aveva vissuto l'adolescente che sie era trovato nella regione romena al di là del Prut, comprende e spiega "il paradosso drammatico della Basarabia, la sua povertà che risultava, nonostante l'abbondanza agricola e zootecnica, dalla mancanza di mercati e di strade praticabili in tutte le stagioni. I contadini non avevano alcun tipo di organizzazione economica, nè per le vendite, nè per gli acquisti (come ad esempio le cooperative di tipo anglo-sassone –n.n.), il contatto con il mercato era scoraggiante e disumano; vendevano, potremmo dire, per niente [...]. Non esisteva in alcun modo l'intervento efficiente e costruttivo delle autorità pubbliche (russe –n.n). Non veniva effettuato alcun lavoro pubblico importante, a parte le precarie e ridottissime ferrovie"²².

Questa radiografia della Basarabia, a cui veniva associata l'immagine "della tomba del nonno [...], la lunga ed operosa permanenza di mio padre e di mio fratello maggiore in questa regione, le vacanze incantevoli sulle rive del lago Ialpuș, e, più di ogni altra cosa, la romenità antica e maggioritaria di questa terra appartenente da sempre alla Grande Moldavia, le fortezze che proteggevano il confine orientale del territorio romeno (Hotin, Soroca, Tighina, Cetatea Albă), hanno conferito un posto privilegiato alla Bessarabia nel mio cuore, vicino per intensità al mio affetto per la Transilvania"²³.

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²¹*Ibidem*, pp. 62-63.

²²*Ibidem*, p. 61.

²³*Ibidem*, p. 33-34. Vedi per i dettagli gli studi: Mihai D Drecin, „Basarabia în viața și amintirile profesorului Victor Jinga”, in *Buletin Științific. Revista de Etnografie, Științele Naturii și Muzeologie*, Serie nouă, Editura Muzeul Național de Etnografie și Istorie Naturală, Chișinău, Vol. 11 (24), 2009, p. 289-295; Idem, „Bessarabia in Profesor Victor Jinga's Life and Memories”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, Seria: Istorie-Arheologie, Tomo XX, 2010, p. 163-169.

Victor Jinga ha avuto modo di frequentare molte zone geografiche che appartengono allo spazio central-europeo. Alcune le ha appena conosciute, attraversandole in treno (Ungheria, 1934), altre le ha vissute più in profondità, soffermandosi più a lungo (Venezia, durante gli studi universitari, 1920-1925) o per periodi più brevi, durante i viaggi di studio nel campo dell'economia politica e della cooperazione (Graz/Austria, nell'inverno del 1924, Zurich – Schaffhausen – Geneva/ Svizzera in agosto – settembre 1934).

I suoi ricordi di Venezia fanno riferimento alla vita universitaria, all'ambiente accademico (docenti, biblioteche, studio), alla condizione dello studente universitario in un paese impoverito dalla guerra, con una vita politica agitata, agli inizi del regime fascista di Mussolini. Per i suoi professori di Ca' Foscari ha solo elogi, sia per le idee trasmesse durante corsi e le conversazioni private, sia per il loro distacco politico. “I professori – scrive Victor Jinga nelle sue memorie – non esprimevano mai atteggiamenti politici. La libertà ed un comportamento di tipo accademico erano le norme generali nelle attività dell'Istituto (Ca' Foscari – n.n)”²⁴. L'influenza austriaca o tedesca nell'insegnamento e nei rapporti con gli studenti erano dominanti. Gli studenti erano in maggior parte poveri, provenienti dalle regioni del meridionali dell'Italia, molti dalla Sicilia, “combattivi, più bassi, mori e molto vivaci”²⁵.

In sintesi, sull'Italia Victor Jinga conclude: “Ho per il popolo italiano un'enorme ammirazione e simpatia; il suo contributo allo sviluppo della cultura e della civiltà universale è stato ed è ancora importantissimo. Basta conoscere e capire il paese e la sua gente, la loro arte e la loro cultura per essere e restare per sempre profondamente legati a questo popolo, creatore di valori superiori, dotato dalla Provvidenza con qualità davvero eccezionali”²⁶.

Se la gente austriaca sopporta la povertà, gli alimenti razionati e il freddo degli anni successivi alla Prima Guerra mondiale, un paese come l'Ungheria, ridotto alle dimensioni di una provincia dell'ex-Impero Austro-Ungarico²⁷, un paese che si percorre in treno in sole 13 ore, che si trovava nella medesima situazione, era tutt'altro che rassegnato. Il pragmatismo austriaco non era paragonabile con il temperamento e con la megalomania magiara, sebbene nel 1919-1920 l'Ungheria fosse diventata uno stato con una struttura demografica unitaria dal punto di vista etnico, gli ungheresi essendo dominanti.

Le notazioni e le riflessioni di Victor Jinga sui nostri vicini occidentali, fatte nel 1934, sono sarcastiche: “Dappertutto essa (l'Ungheria - n.n) - ci previene con ‘Nem, nem, soha’ (‘No, no, mai più’ - n.n.), inciso sui muri, nelle stazioni, sull'erba e, soprattutto, nel cuore di ogni singolo ungherese. Un paese afflitto,

²⁴ Victor Jinga, *Reflexiuni și consemnări*, in manoscritto, p. 95.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 107 -109. Con il sottotitolo „Stări de strâmtoare”.

che non ha né capo né coda, un pezzetto d'Europa che crede in quello che non sarebbe mai accaduto (ovvero la riconquista della Transilvania – n.n.). Le abbreviazioni delle ferrovie sono sempre accompagnate da 'Hungaria'; loro trovano simili consolazioni offerte dalle parole roboanti”²⁸.

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* *

Nella nostra relazione sul tema dei romeni e dell'immagine “dell'altro”, del vicino o dello straniero, abbiamo presentato soltanto le annotazioni presenti nelle memorie e in una piccola parte della corrispondenza di Victor Jinga, gran parte di questa essendo stata distrutta dalla *Securitate*. Il tema, tuttavia, si ritrova anche in altri suoi scritti. Per fare un solo esempio, ricordiamo il volume *Problemele fundamentale ale Transilvaniei (I problemi fondamentali della Transilvania)*, in cui i rapporti romeno–magiari nel corso della storia, fino al 1945, costituiscono un capitolo a sé stante, interessante e profondo, che merita l'attenzione anche dei contemporanei.

Nei testi che abbiamo qui analizzato, Victor Jinga è maggiormente interessato ai rapporti tra i romeni ed i ceangăi di Săcele, tra i romeni del sud della Bessarabia e i piccoli gruppi etnici dello stesso spazio (găgăuzi, tedeschi, cosacchi, russi). In questo modo, abbiamo anche cercato di mettere in risalto la percezione di alcune nazioni dell'Europa Centrale (italiani, ungheresi, austriaci) così come le ha capite e descritte il Professore Jinga, procedendo per brevi *flash* e cercando di inquadrarmi nello spazio geografico Chișinău- Oradea- Padova, spazio che le nostre sessioni hanno come oggetto di ricerca.

²⁸ Arhivele Naționale - Serviciul Județean Brașov, Donația G. Moroianu, *Fond: G. Moroianu*, Cartella 15/3, f.4. La lettera di Victor Jinga a G. Moroianu, datata Zurich, 8 settembre 1934. Vedi anche Mihai D Drecin, „Geographical Landscapes and Political Geography in the Correspondence Between Victor Jinga and Gheorghe Moroianu (1931-1940)”, in *Revista Română de Geografie Politică*, Oradea, anno XI, nr. 2, 2009, p. 43.

INCURSIONS IN THE HISTORY OF JEWS FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (19TH CENTURY-1945)

Anca OLTEAN*

Abstract. *The present article is trying to show that during the 19th century, the beginning of the 20th century and the end of the interwar period, the Jews were subjected to a lot of discriminations in Central and Eastern Europe. We especially point out the fault of Hungarian, Romanian, Polish army in deporting the Jews during the Holocaust years, thus sharing the guilt with the German occupation. The end of the war meant a liberation for the Jews and their condition of undesired minorities changed. But their wish to migrate to Israel could not be stopped.*

Keywords: *Jews, Central and Eastern Europe, 19th century, 20th century, Holocaust, discriminations.*

At the end of the 19th century, the Tsarist Empire was the home of a numerous Jewish population, of more than 5,000,000 Jews¹. During the governance of the tsars Alexander I and Nicolae I, the Jewish population was in a process of baptism and Russification. Nicolae I imposed a 25 years military service to the Jews. After 1840, the Russian Jews lost their autonomy and there were created nonreligious schools and the state schools. Confessional schools named *heder* were closed. During the last part of 19th century, the Tsarist politics supported the pogroms and the emigration of the Jews towards other countries. In Russia, the Jews coexisted with local inhabitants as a separate world characterized by traditionalism and mysticism. In this period, the Jewish Enlightenment developed, which had as purpose the learning of the Russian language and the assimilation of Russian culture by the Jews.

It can be asserted that in Russia there was a state of antisemitism that manifested itself during the pogroms. As a consequence, a new wave of pogroms started during the years 1881-1884 in Kiev, Odessa, White Russia, Lithuania. In 1881 in Russia appeared the idea of *numerus clausus* that limited the number of Jewish students in Russian universities. In 1891, almost 20,000 of Jews were sent

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¹ Prepuk Aniko, *A zsidóság közép és kelet – Európában (Evreimea în Estul Europei)*, Történelmi kézikönyvtár, Csokonai Kiadó, Budapest, 1997, p. 84.

away from Moscow. Nicolae II (1894-1917) was very hostile to the Jews. It is a period when the work *The Protocol of the Elders from Zion* is published, an antisemite writing that asserted that the Jews were looking for world's dominance.

Also, in the 19th century, Zionist ideas developed Jewish secular nationalism. It was manifested mainly in Austria-Hungary and in Russia. In Russia, the Zionism was promoted by the author Leo Pinsker, and in Austria-Hungary by Theodor Herzl. The place foreseen by Herzl for the new Jewish state was Palestine or Argentina. In time, it was imposed the idea that the new Jewish state had to be based on the rules of the Torah. Another territory mentioned by the English as location for the Jewish state was Uganda.

Prepuk Anikó underlines that the Jewry angrenated in Europe in two movements: radical – bourgeois and socialist². The first movement attracted the Jewry who belonged to bourgeoisie, with a high economic level. The poor ones were attracted by socialist ideals, they were animated by the ideal of a better society that implied the dismanteling of a well organized society on capitalist basis. Russia saw the passage from agrarian society to the Communist one, without passing through the phase of industrialization. Marxism, Bolshevism, although they did not angrenate a big number of Jews, don't have to be identified with the whole Jewish Community³.

Better known is the role of Jewry in propagation of Socialist and Communist ideas, but the Jews also played another role. In Central and Eastern Europe, for instance, they played a key-role in industry and banking system, but also in the cultural life. In Germany, the Jewry was involved in the construction of railways, in the branches of economy connected with the fabrication and exploitation of iron and coal.

In Hungary, the Jews got involved in agriculture, in industry and banking. The implication in economy was the motivation of the assimilation of Jewry in Hungary and Central and Eastern Europe. In spite of mixed marriages and of adoption of Christian religion by some Jews, the assimilation was not total because of hostility from religious grounds that was promoted against the Jews. In Hungary, there were more Hungarian ethnics hostile to the Jewry. As a consequence of assimilation, after 1867, the Jewry received political rights equal with the rights of Hungarian ethnic minority. It is obvious the Hungarian cultural influence through the publication of some Jewish newspapers in Hungarian language.

In Hungary, in 1919, the power was taken over by the Bolsheviks of Kun Bela. As a consequence of the revolution, the scapegoats were the Jews, not only the Bolsheviks being punished, but also the liberal ones. Through the Treaty of

² *Ibidem*, p. 128.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 129.

Trianon, the historical Hungary was demolished and 48% of the total Jewry spread in the successor states of Austria-Hungary. The law *numerus clausus* that limited the number of Jewish students in universities was established in Hungary from 1920. The law was condemned by the League of Nations. During the government of Gömbös Gyula was established the basis of Hungarian Fascism. It pursued the reduction of economic and political influence of Jewry. In May 1938 the anti-Jewish laws were elaborated, racially defining the Jews. These laws reduced the role of Jewry in public and economic space. The Jews from the Army could be used only to forced labor. They were institutionally isolated. The anti-Jewish policy was stimulated by the services which Hungary had to do to Hitler in turn for getting Northern Transylvania.

In the states from Central and Eastern Europe, in the modern epoch, the Jewry took over the newly created states' national languages and contributed to a healthy environment.

In the interwar period time, Anti-Semitism grew in Central and Eastern Europe. The nationalism and xenophobia were always nurtured by moral and economic crises of societies. In the whole Central and Eastern Europe there was a lack of ailments, and Jews played an important role in furnishing them⁴. As a consequence, the Jews were considered as scapegoats for the precarious situation of the societies where they lived. On the other side, another cause of Anti-Semitism was the adherence of Jews to leftist revolutionary movements and the affirmation of some leaders of Jewish origin in front of Bolshevik Russia and Hungary. In Hungary the leader of Bolshevik Revolution was Kun Bela, Jew. In Romania, during the interwar period time, there were Jews that became clandestine leaders of the Communist Party as Ana and Marcel Pauker that collaborated with Moscow.

During the 1930's took place the affirmation of right wing movements in Central and Eastern Europe that increased the nationalism of peoples and the hate against the Jews.

At the end of the First World War, the Jewish population from these countries presented its claims in their national states militating for equal rights with native population. In the debates concerning the Treaty of Paris, the Jews militated for the protection of the rights of national minorities. There were the years in which the emigration to Palestine was still possible, the Balfour Declaration mentioning that here the creation of a "national Jewish home" will be possible. Balfour Declaration was opening the gate to the Jews in order to create their own state in Palestine, without discriminating the ones belonging to other religions⁵.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

⁵ We quote here the text of declaration, documented enacted by Foreign Office at November 2 1917 by Arthur James Balfour: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in

In Poland, in 1921 the Jews were in very large numbers, 2,850,000, namely 10.5% of the total population⁶. After the First World War, Poland was a national state, a buffer zone between Russia and Germany. The Orthodox population grouped around the organization Agudat Israel, while the non-religion Jews sustained leftist movements such as BUND that represented the interests of the working class. The Zionist Jews from Poland grouped into two movements: Poalei Zion of Socialist leftist orientation, and Mizrachi, of Orthodox orientation. During the interwar period, in Poland, the Zionist Movement was very popular, being developed in the context of Polish nationalism and Anti-Semitism. During the years 1930, anti-Jewish laws were imposed in Poland. In consequence, during the years 1930-1936, 80,000 Polish Jews emigrated to Palestine⁷. Poland was one of the countries mostly affected by the Second World War. Most part of the Polish Jewry died in the Holocaust. The perception of the historians from the former communist countries on Holocaust was to blame only the Germans or to minimize the contribution of their countries to the elimination of the Jews. Jean-Charles Szurek in the article *Juifs et Polonais (1918-1939)* shows that on Polish territory existed two different historiographies, one belonging to the Polish nationals and one belonging to minorities and to the Jews, in particular. He tries to emphasize the characteristics of Polish historiography and Jewish historiography for the period 1918-1939. While the Jews see Poland as a place of genocide and of commemoration, the Polish historians are still not aware of this fact⁸: “For the “Polish” camp, this period is first of all a period of regained independence, after 25 years of division, a partial democratic regime, a place more or less important in Europe, a relative tolerance for national minorities. It had to be noted here that the period between the two World Wars was often idealized in Poland by political opponents from the years 70 and 80: it was compared then, in spite of the Communist regime, a type of authoritarian regime with another. The appeal to the “independent” historian must have constituted an answer to the “official” history. It must be noted that, after the fall of the Communist regime, the Poland of the interwar period is seen in a more critical manner.

[...] There were thus two historiographies that were confronting each other. An objective analysis has not been achieved yet, neither for the period

Palestine of a national home for Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation”. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balfour_Declaration_of_1917, accessed on October 1, 2009.

⁶ Prepuk Aniko, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

⁸ Jean-Charles Szurek, *Juifs et Polonais (1918-1939)*, in *Les cahiers de la Shoah*, n. 1, 1994. See <http://www.anti-rev.org/textes/Szurek94a/body.html>, accessed on October 1, 2008.

1918-1939, nor for the one of German occupation or even for the postwar period. Generally, the Jewish memory identifies Poland physically as a symbolic place of Genocide. It is the symbol of death, of real Poland, who was understood only later and, again, thanks to the action of “remembrance” of the Holocaust of a couple of Catholic intellectuals. Auschwitz demonstrated the distance that separated the two Memories”⁹.

In Austria, after the First World War, the Jewish population was reduced drastically and concentrated, mainly, in Vienna. Also here, the hunger and scarcity of products after the war led to Anti-Semitism. A lot of Jews were speculators during the general poverty, selling different products to Austrians, a fact that aroused the Austrians’ discontent. In the political life, two parties were playing an important role: the Socialist Christian Party and the Popular Party of Greater Germany. The most anti-Semite was the National Christian Party, the Nazis. After the Nazi occupation, Anti-Semitism grew. Anti-Jewish legislation was introduced, and the Jewish students were excluded from universities.

In Czechoslovakia, during the interwar period, the situation of Jewry was better in comparison with the one of the Jews from other states from Central and Eastern Europe. The Jewish Communities from Czechoslovakia were enjoying the same rights with the native population. The most numerous were the Jews from the cities closer to the German culture, in comparison with the Jewry from the county that borrowed the Czech language. The Jewry from Slovakia was loyal to the Hungarian state, an aspect that aroused Slovak discontent. The national Czech movement had the support of Jewry in the fight with Slovakian and German separatism. In Czechoslovakia, the Zionist ideas had little impact during the interwar period, very few Jews from here wishing to emigrate. The state of the Jews remained good in Czechoslovakia until the end of the 1930s. On September 29, 1938, when the Agreement of Münich was signed, the Czech government rallied to centre right politics. The intellectuals and Jewish students were excluded from the universities.

The interwar period was also opening in Romania under the auspices of democracy and minority rights. The new, more extended Romania included the provinces of Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina. An important change that was noticeable was that the new legislation did not discriminate the Jews anymore, but offered them equal rights with the Romanian ethnics. A document of the epoch revealing a democratic spirit is also the Treaty concerning the condition of minorities signed by Romania at Paris, on December 8, 1919¹⁰. Thus in article 2 of the treaty, the Romanian government guaranteed the protection of

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Tratatul privind minoritățile (The treaty concerning the minorities)* in Ioan Scurtu, Theodora Stănescu- Stanciu, Georgiana Margareta Scurtu, *Istoria Românilor între anii 1918- 1940*. See <http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/istorie1918-1940/10-3.htm>, accessed on July 1, 2008.

life and liberty for the citizens of Romania, irrespective of their language, race or religion, guaranteeing them, at the same time, religious liberty. The Romanian State undertook the obligation to grant citizenship to all Jews born in Romania or living in Romania in conformity with article 7 and to guarantee the same civil and political rights and also free access of the Jewish population to public functions in conformity with article 8. By a decree of law from May, 28 1919, Romania granted civil rights to the Jews born in the country, and also for the ones who fought in the First World War, together with their families, even if they were not born in the country¹¹. Later on, when nationalism increased in the country, we see that the program of the Jewish Party of Romania was of a democratic nature and the fidelity towards the Romanian nation was consecrated through this program¹². Among the guiding principles of this party we notice “personal identification with the Romanian nation in the field of devotion towards the throne, love for the country and faith in the idea of state”. It militated for the emancipation of ethnical minorities and the fight for democracy. In the 1940s, when the international situation became tensed, a decree of law was enacted on the judicial situation of the Jewish inhabitants of Romania¹³. The document defined the Jews as having mosaic religion and also Jews by origin. The Jews could not be elected anymore “in the councils and leading committees of free professions”. In turn for military service, they were obliged to fiscal payments or to work in the benefit of the community. According to this decree, the Jews could not detain rural properties.

During the authoritarian regime of Charles 2nd and during the regime of Marshall Antonescu, the rights of the Jews were restrained a lot. Radu Ioanid describes other restrictions imposed to the Jews. Thus, they could not own products that constituted state monopoly, could not have any kind of job; they were excluded from professional associations such as Doctor’s Association, Writers’ Union, and Architects’ Society. In 1940, it was forbidden by law for the Jews to be teachers or students. The forced labour became compulsory. During the governance of Ion Antonescu, a big part of the Jewish population from Bessarabia and Bukovina was deported in Transnistria. Ghettos and concentration camps existed in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transnistria. The Jews

¹¹ *Decret – lege pentru acordarea drepturilor cetățenești evreilor născuți în țară (Decree of law concerning the granting of citizens rights to the Jews born in the country)*, in Ioan Scurtu, Theodora Stănescu-Stanciu, Giorgia Margareta Scurtu, *op.cit.*, Internet: [http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/istorie 1918-1940/10-1.htm](http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/istorie%201918-1940/10-1.htm), accessed on July 1st, 2008.

¹² *Programul Partidului Evreiesc din România (The program of Jewish party of Romania)* in Ioan Scurtu, Theodora Stănescu-Stanciu, Giorgia Margareta Scurtu, *op.cit.*, Internet [http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/istorie 1918-1940/10-8.htm](http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/istorie%201918-1940/10-8.htm) accessed on July 1st, 2008.

¹³ *Ibidem. Decret – lege privitor la starea juridică a locuitorilor evrei din România (Decree of law concerning the judicial situation of Jewish inhabitants from Romania, see: http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie1918-1940/10-13.htm*, accessed on July, 1st, 2008.

from North Western Transylvania found under Horthyst occupation were deported to German concentration camps¹⁴.

In the North–West of Transylvania, occupied by Hungary through the Dictate of Vienna from August 30 1940, the new master (see Hungary) aggravated the situation of the Jewry from its territory: “The official politics of Hungary in the Jewish problem, during the two World Wars has its origins in the racial concepts founded on a contradictory economic and social basis existent then. The politics towards the Jews that were taken over from the Romanian state, as a consequence of the Dictate from Vienna, in the beginning pursued the restrained character by law of the activity and of the influence of Jews in the economic and social field, after which followed measures of liquidation of the Jewish problem. Firstly, it was founded on motivations of political and ideological nature, militating for obtaining of economic benefits for Hungarian state. In the vision of nationalist and revisionist Hungarian politicians, the Jewry from this territory was considered as a political adversary of the Hungarian state and of the regime in power, after 1940. Political forces, radical ones, of right wing orientation, even Fascist, qualified the Jewry from this geographical space as a declared enemy, and its existence as incompatible with the state and social life established in Hungary. As a consequence, it had no place in Hungary and in the Romanian occupied territory”¹⁵.

If the attitude was critical of the politics of Hungary toward its Jews during Holocaust, a lot of Romanian historians are very cautious and don't dare to criticize Romania for the fate of Jews in the Old Kingdom of Romania that were the subject to local pogroms, anti-Semite legislation and some of them to deportation in Transnistria during the dictatorship of Ion Antonescu. The fact can be explained by the identity crisis of the Romanians after the Revolution. The criticism addressed to Hungarian Anti-Semite politics and the description of difficult conditions endured by the Jews from North-West of Transylvania and the Hungarian ones are very well documented and critically exposed in the work of Vasile T. Ciubăncan, Maria I. Ganea, Ion V. Ranca, *Drumul Holocaustului. Calvarul evreilor din nord-vestul Transilvaniei sub ocupația Ungariei 5 IX 1940 – 25 X 1944*. The authors acknowledge the negative role of Hungary in the deportation of Jewry, they are not negationist, blaming only the Germans for the Holocaust. In their opinion, Hungary could not forgive the Jewry for being loyal to the union of Romania with Transylvania and that, although it was almost Hungarian, it asserted its etnical identity in the new state.

¹⁴ Radu Ioanid, *Răscumpărarea evreilor. Istoria acordurilor secrete dintre România și Israel*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2005, p. 19-80.

¹⁵ Vasile T. Ciubăncan, Maria I. Ganea, Ion V. Ranca, *Drumul Holocaustului. Calvarul evreilor din nord-vestul Transilvaniei sub ocupația Ungariei 5 IX 1940 – 25 X 1944*, Editura Ciubăncan, Cluj- Napoca, 1995, p. 15.

The analysis of the politics of Hungary during the war is seen in the extended framework of Hungarian politics of nationalities, that reverberated with hostility on non-Hungarians from the new Hungary.

In what follows, we attach two tables elaborated by Vasile T. Ciubăncan, Maria I. Ganea, Ion V. Ranca based on their own research: one table which reflects the probable population on the criteria of nationality, before and after the deportation of Jews and the changes produced, respectively another table which describes the changes produced by the deportation of Jews from May-June 1944. We see that in the North-West of Transylvania, as it is reflected in the first table, a great variety of ethnic groups co-existed (Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Russians, Rutenians, Gipsies, Ukrainians, others).

Table 1¹⁶. The probable population on the criteria of nationality, before and after the deportation of Jews and the changes produced in North-West of Transylvania

Data of registration	Total of population	Romanians	Hungarians	Germans	Jews	Russians Ruthenians Ukrainians	Gipsies	Others
31.VII. 1940	2.630.443	1.322.768	975.275	71.513	149.392	31.559	49272	33 969
Procents	100%	50.28%	37.07%	2.71%	5.68%	1.19%	1.87%	1.29%
1.V.1944	2.764.128	1.100.768	1.385.000	23.900	156.228	33 000	51 000	21.300
Procents	100%	39.82%	50.10%	0.50%	5.65%	1.19%	1.80%	0.77%
(+,-)	+133.685	- 222.000	+409.725	- 47 000	+6.836	+255	+1.728	- 12.669
Procents	+4.83 %	-8.03%	+14.82%	- 2.04%	+0.74%	+0.52%	+0.62%	- 4.58%

Table 2. The changes produced by the Jewish deportation from North-West of Transylvania during May – June 1944¹⁷

Data of registration	Total of population	Romanians	Hungarians	Germans	Jews	Russians Ruthenians Ukrainians	Gipsies	Others
31.VI. 1944	2.607.900	1.100.768	1.385.000	23.900	0	33.000	51.000	21.300
Procents	100%	42.20%	53.10%	0.90%	0%	1.26%	1.95%	0.80%
(+,-)	-156.228				- 156.228			

We notice that by the deportation of Jews from May-June 1944, 156,228 Jews disappeared.

The authors describe the anti-Jewish measures taken by Hungarian governments that led Hungary after the occupation of North-West of Transylvania. By the decree of law 1750/ 1942 M.E. there were taken over Jewish lands and

¹⁶ The table was detailed in Ciubăncan et al, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

forests. By the law of September 1942 concerning Jewish lands and forests “it was prohibited to the Jews the right to own lands and forests or the right to use certain buildings, both by using judicial transactions, but also by auctions, and in villages and regional residences not even to use other non-mobile goods”¹⁸.

On March 22, 1944, the government of Kállay Miklós was replaced by the one of Sztójay Döme, former ambassador of Hungary to Berlin, while there have been adopted anti- Jewish laws. By the decree of law no. 1240/ 1944 a yellow star was imposed as a distinctive sign which had to be worn by each Jew older than six years old. The first article of this law was stipulating: “Once the present decree adopted, each Jewish person who had the age of 6– is obliged to wear outside of his home, on the superior part of his clothes, on the left side and visible, a yellow star with the format of 10x10 centimetres”¹⁹.

The limitation of the activities of Jews happened also in the Hungarian spiritual life. Thus “by the decree 10800 / 1944 ME” it was mentioned: “It is forbidden the multiplication, the publication or the use of literary creations of Jewish authors when the present decree is enforced, especially the modification and use of papers with a scientific character, only with the approval of the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Instruction, after mutual agreement of the president of the Hungarian Royal Council of Ministers”²⁰.

The authors talk about the drama of some victims of Holocaust, amongst whom we remember the girl Eva Heymann from a Jewish family with an average material and intellectual condition that succeeds in keeping a diary: “My little journal, from now on I will tie you with a little key as nobody, never to find out my secrets”²¹. Eva would have liked to live in a world in which nobody knew that she is a Jew. Eva was scared by the story of Marta, her friend, deported to Poland together with her family. She writes down in her diary an episode when the gendarmes take her bicycle causing her sadness. The diary continues with images from the ghetto of Oradea. Eva Heymann was deported to Auschwitz where she died on October 17 1944.

Carol Iancu criticizes severely the participation of Romania to the Holocaust²². The author does not forgive the Anti-Semite politics of the Marshall Ion Antonescu and of his collaborators in Romania during the years 1940-1944. In Greater Romania, the Jews represented the third minority in numbers, after the Hungarian and German communities summing up 728,115 people as established by the general census of 1930²³. The author qualifies as a paroxysm the Anti-

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 131.

²² Carol Iancu, *Shoah in Romania. Evreii în timpul regimului Antonescu (1940-1944)*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2001.

²³ *Ibidem*, p.13.

Semite politics of Romania. He draws attention to the fact that, although the Romanian Holocaust is not acknowledged and condemned in Romania, it existed during the years 1940- 1944 an anti-Semite legislation that implied “the forbidden of mixed marriages, the obtaining of Romanian names and conversion to Christianity, the elimination from all the sectors of public life and in some regions the obligation to wear the yellow star – they were added to the actions of the legionnaire police which started with the robbery of Jewish goods”²⁴. Pogroms took place in Bucharest and Iași which finished with numerous victims. In consequence, it is asserted that the racial politics of Romania was not only represented by the anti- Jewish legislation, but also by throwing out of the country the Jews from near the border. The governor of Transnistria, Gheoghe Alexianu, was very cruel: “The ordinance of November 11 1941 of the governor of Transnistria, Gheorghe Alexianu, shows that the deportees were installed in special colonies, put together in the ghettos, labour camps and concentration camps: the imposed regime was horrible. Forced to work until their exhaustion, having no sufficient food, they usually got ill and were subjected to brutal treatments, shot for any disobedience, thousands died. The evacuations from Transnistria were stopped in January 1942 and restarted in the summer of that year: 4,650 of Jews (4,200 from Cernauti and 450 from Dorohoi) in July and August, 2,388 in September and October”²⁵. Among the very few benevolent persons who stood up for Jews was Nicolae Bălan, the chief of Romanian Orthodox Church from Transylvania and the monsenior Andrea Cassulo. Carol Iancu has a different opinion from that of Raul Hilberg who speaks about the Romanian Holocaust asserting that in no country occupied by the Axis Power was the number of survivors so high (355,972)²⁶ and that from 1942 the massacres were stopped, but not the antisemite measures.

The interviews with Jews from Romania during Antonescu regime that were deported to Transnistria²⁷ offer a direct contact with the survivors, being described in a personal manner. Among the interviewed persons there are also simple men, who happened to be in the centre of events. We remark among them Erica Antal, born at Putna and raised in Cernăuți whose father was a layer and the mother was a housewife. Among the places where she was deported she remembers the stone career Cervetinovca near the Bug. She says that: “Then they took us and we left at the stone career from Cetvertinovca. We stayed together with the animals, a few weeks, about two months and they took us again and we left from Cetvertinovca to Obodovca. There they put us in the houses of the Ukrainians. Eight persons we lived in a small room (...) We stayed there a lot of time, I don’t

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²⁷ *Holocaustul evreilor români. Din mărturiile supraviețuitorilor*, Editura Polirom Iași, 2004.

know how much time. The Ukrainians were friendly people: they behaved real nice with us, they give us food – they killed pigs and gave us the bacon as it was, directly from the pig”²⁸. The last station they passed by was Tătărovca: “In Tătărovca, it was very good for us. The Ukrainians behaved well with us, they sent us to work in agriculture, they gave us food... But from time to time, the Romanians were coming. And we hid so that they would not take us from there”²⁹. Erica Antal considers that the writings of the survivors of Holocaust are real and present the Jewish sufferings in the past. These writings offer us by means of oral or written testimony the possibility to reconstitute the past: “It was nothing untrue written down. In vain it is said that Antonescu did not deported Jews. He deported us; he put his people to deport us. You see, we were the last deported group – we had such a bad luck to be in that group”³⁰. Her father was barely convinced not to stay in Russia, but at her mother’s insistence, they emigrated in 1946.

Another interview described in the same book is the one with Carol Magulies. Thus, when asked when he felt for the first time the effects of deportation, Carol Magulies answered: “As a consequence of the pact Ribbentrop Molotov they [Russians, n.n.] occupied Bucovina. The Russians came, but they had no business with the Jews. My father, being a state employee should have run away from the Russians. But the troubles started wise June, 21, when the Germans and Romanians entered the territory. Why? Because I had a neighbour who was German. She stayed near us, in a house with a lot of people, in a room, and needed a new house. Immediately she went to the German Embassy, the German house, as it was called, and arranged to throw us out from the house and to move there in our place. They gave us two hours to leave the house: “you can take whatever you like, but only what you can carry. You are not allowed to take anything else”³¹. During the deportation, he resided in the localities Atachi and Moghilev. Although her father was a former state employee, and it was decided that the state employees don’t have to be deported, finally the ones sent away remained sent away. An example of the experiences lived during deportation is described in the fragment concerning the staying at Moghilev: “Each day we came to work. There were gendarmes. At Moghilev we stayed for two months and in the morning we had to go to work with the gendarmes. (...) How did we survive? Our luck was that the Ukrainians were very poor. They had nothing. If they had a cow- the cow was shared among them during the four seasons: in the summer to this one, in the autumn to that one, in the winter to this one and in the spring to that one. This is how it was (she laughs)”³².

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 28.

According to the decision of August 31, 1944 it was decided that “The rights of the Romanians are the ones established by the Constitution of 1866, with the modifications brought later by the Constitution from March 29, 1923”³³. By the law no. 442, from September 1, 1944, the concentration camps where the Jews were locked were dismantled. Thus, in the unique article of the law it was mentioned: “On the date of the present decree of law, on the whole territory of the country all the concentration camps will be dismantled, created by all legal or administrative disposition. All the residents in the concentration camps will be freed immediately without any formality. In the same time, it is suspended with immediate effect all the administrative dispositions concerning the establishment of the obligativity of residence”³⁴. A document of December 19, 1944 annulled all the restrictions to which the Jews or their property were subjected, restrictions that “constituted under the past dictatorial regimes, the object of the legislative, administrative or judicial dispositions. As a consequence of this decree of law, there are and remain dismantled all the discriminatory measures taken of racial reasons”³⁵. At the same time, because of this project of law, the residences and mobile goods of the Jews were given back: “The non-mobile goods re-enter thus in the patrimony of the Jewish owner, free from all the tasks existent after the confiscation from the Jews, and mobile goods will be taken back by the former owner from the actual owner. The regaining of the right of use of former owners and renters of Jewish origin that were evacuated is immediate, by the effect of the present law. For a category of renters of the old National Centre of Romanization, introducing here a social criterion, we fixed the term of evacuation on April 23, 1945. Thus, the public state employees and public pensioners, the workers, and also the small workers with a monthly rent of up to 30,000 inclusively, the injured people from the war, minor orphans and also unmarried widows enjoy that release, taking into consideration the possibility of changing of residence for all this categories in full winter”³⁶. The law for the abrogation of anti-Jewish legislative measures abrogated all the discriminatory dispositions concerning the Jews.

Bulgaria had the hope to recuperate the lost territories after the World War I: Southern Dobrogea that was taken over by Romania, Tracia that was given to Greece, and Macedonia to Serbia. The political regime introduced in the interwar period can be considered authoritarian, but not fascist³⁷. Southern Dobrogea (Cadrilater) was ceded by Romania to Bulgaria. Bulgaria, too, imposed

³³ Lya Benjamin, *Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944*, vol. I. *Legislația antievreiască*, Editura Hasefer, București, 1993.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 372.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 376.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 377.

³⁷ Tzvetan Todorov. *The Fragility of Goodness. Why Bulgaria's Jews Survived the Holocaust*, second edition, London, Weidenfeld&Nicolson, 2001, p. 4.

anti-Jewish laws. Thus, the Jews were imposed restrictions of residence, concerning the propriety rights and their right to practice certain professions was restrained. Bulgaria joined the Axis from 1941. By law, it was established that all the Jews who were living in Yugoslavia and Greece were to receive Bulgarian citizenship, but not the Jews, with the exception of Jewish women married with non-Jews³⁸. On February 22, it was decided that 20000 Jews were to be deported. On 18 and 19 March, the Jews from Tracia were deported, and the ones from Macedonia were deported to Auschwitz³⁹. Totally, 11,343 of Jews were deported⁴⁰.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

BETWEEN EXCLUSION AND ACCEPTANCE. THE PERCEPTION OF HISTORIAN GHEORGHE I. BRĂTIANU IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

Gabriel MOISA*

Abstract. *Gheorghe I. Brătianu's political and historiographical destiny under the Communist regime was a very interesting one, since he was approached by the ideological regime, both as a politician and as a historian, according to the regime's interests. If as a politician he was mentioned at the index for the entire Communist period due to his Liberal- Brătienist past that could not be forgotten, as the Liberals were the Communists' enemies, as a historian he called the regime's attention in well-defined moments, mainly due to his work that made references to Bessarabia and that stated Romania's right over this historical province.*

Keywords: *Gheorghe I. Brătianu, exclusion, acceptance, Communist, historian.*

In the morning of 23 September, 1944, newsagents were selling the new edition of the Communist paper *Scînteia* (*The Sparkle*), legal only since 24 August, 1944. An unsigned editorial whose main topic was politician Gheorghe I. Brătianu was published on the front page, in the most visible spot, shocking through its violent language. The article was entitled *Schimbarea la față a d-lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu* (*Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu's Transfiguration*). This was the first episode of a very long series of attacks on Gheorghe I. Brătianu, meant to alter the truth about the historian and politician: “*One of the greatest joys brought to us on 23 August, 1944 was the discovery that Mr. Brătianu is a Democrat! Moreover, a few days later, the same Gheorghe I. Brătianu started giving us lectures on the true democracy. It is time for this pathetic and yet ridiculous show to stop! The Romanian working class is very familiar with Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu's past of aligning Romania's foreign politics to that of Germany, to that of Europe's and our country's plunderers and invaders. Killinger's ill-fated speech delivered at “The Romanian-German Association”,*

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- *The awards and decorations received by Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu from Hitler for his services*, - *The anti-Soviet instigator role he played for years in the Parliament*, - *His intense participation at the treacherous and foolish war of the nation's interests against the USSR*. – *All these have not been forgotten by our working class and by the entire people, Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu! – this person does not belong to the Block of Democratic Parties, but to the clique he himself has joined, next to the Hitlerists and members of the Iron Guard*¹. The text marked the beginning of a shameful propaganda against Gheorghe I. Brătianu that ended tragically for him in April, 1953, when he died in prison in Sighet.

Gheorghe I. Brătianu was one of Romania's greatest historians. He brought an essential contribution to connecting the Romanian historiography to the European and world trends of the historical writing, especially to what the School of Annals is and has been. Contemporary with March Bloch and Fernand Braudel, Ferdinand Lot and Charles Diehl's student, Gheorghe I. Brătianu is, most likely, the best known Romanian historian follower of this historiographical school². His work *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană*³ (*The Black Sea. From Origins to the Ottoman Conquest*) is representative from this point of view. This is an excellent volume published posthumously, the equivalent of Fernand Braudel's *Mediterrana și lumea mediteraneană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea*⁴ (*The Mediterranean Sea and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*) for the space of the Black Sea.

Gheorghe I. Brătianu's historiographical work is much ampler. His arrest at the age of 50 prevented him from writing, directly influencing his scientific production. Practically, Gheorghe I. Brătianu could no longer produce any scientific paper beginning with the night of May 7-8, 1950 when he was arrested and sent to prison. He died in prison in Sighet sometime between April 23 and April 27, 1953. The circumstances of his death are still unclear.

¹ „Schimbarea la față a d-lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu”, in *Scînteia*, 23 septembrie, 1944, anul I, nr. 3, p. 1

² Gheorghe I. Brătianu was born on 3 February, in Ruginoasa, Iași County. He was the son of the great Romanian politician Ion I. C. Brătianu (Ionel). He graduated from the National High school of Iași, then from the Faculty of Law from the Al. I. Cuza University and from the Faculty of Letters from Paris. In 1923 he got his PhD in Philosophy at the University of Kishinev and in 1929 the one in Letters in Paris (1929). Between 1923 and 1940 he was a professor at the Faculty of Letters and History from Iași, then, from 1940 to 1947, at that of Bucharest. He succeeded N. Iorga at the chair of world history. N. Iorga was assassinated on 27 November, 1940 by representatives of the Iron Guard. Between 1940-1941, he was the Dean of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy from Bucharest. During the period in Iași (1935-1940), he was the president of the Institute of General History of the Al. I. Cuza University, and in Bucharest he became the president of the Nicolae Iorga Institute of World History (1941-1947)

³ Gh. I. Brătianu, *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană*, vol. I-II. The book was published in several editions

⁴ Fernand Braudel, *Mediterrana și lumea mediteraneană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1986, vol. 1-6

Gheorghe I. Brătianu's political and historiographical destiny under the Communist regime was a very interesting one, since he was approached by the ideological regime, both as a politician and as a historian, according to the regime's interests. If as politician he was indexed for the entire Communist period due to his Liberal-Brătienist past that could not be forgotten as the Liberals were the Communists' enemies, as a historian he called the regime's attention in well-defined moments mainly due to his work that made references to Bessarabia and that stated Romania's right over this historical province.

Practically, historian Gheorghe I. Brătianu's name was mentioned in Romania only in negative terms before 1978. Leonte Răutu, one of the major ideologists of Communist Romania, began to harshly accuse him in 1949. He was guilty of being cosmopolite, a very severe accusation in the first years of the Communist regime. He was also classified as a "*Hitlerist who has forgotten Romania's history, preferring to deal with the English and Chinese history*"⁵. The '50s are full of abuse against him under the circumstances of a Stalinist historiographical monopoly held by Mihail Roller, the leader of the Romanian historiography in those years. He was the only one appointed by the regime to classify the Romanian historians. In the mid '60s, Ștefan Voicu, editor-in-chief of *Lupta de Clasă* (*The Class Fight*), accused the same Brătianu, considering him, along with Iuliu Maniu, the former political leader of the National Peasants' Party, Ion Antonescu's and Adolf Hitler's⁶ accomplice. Ion Antonescu was the leader of the Romanian state between 1940 and 1944.

The first positive statements to his address are made in the '70s in a slightly relaxed atmosphere from the ideological point of view, when the Romanian historiography received new political guidelines that also referred to the Romanian-Soviet historiographical disputes. In 1978, the paper *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (*The Encyclopaedia of the Romanian Historiography*) mentioned Gheorghe I. Brătianu among the prestigious Romanian historians and considered him the founder of "*a historiographical school that prepared many leading historians*"⁷. After decades of silence, the Romanian historiography was reassessing the historian as the ideology and the political regime needed him because of his works on Bessarabia, and because of the political context within the Communist Bloc. Other two studies signed by Lucian Boia, *Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953)*⁸ and *L'historiographie*

⁵ Leonte Răutu, *Împotriva cosmopolitismului și obiectivismului în științele sociale*, București, 1949, p. 30

⁶ Ștefan Voicu, „Pagini de luptă a Partidului Comunist Român împotriva fascismului, pentru independență și suveranitate națională (1934-1940)”, in *Lupta de Clasă*, nr. 6, 1966, p. 68

⁷ *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1978, p. 78

⁸ Lucian Boia, „Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953)”, in *Studii și Articole de Istorie*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 169-173

*roumaine et l'école de Annales. Quelques interferences*⁹ (*The Romanian Historiography and the School of Annals. Some Interferences*), opened new perspectives on the Romanian historian.

Around 1980, several historians were already resorting to Brătianu's work on the Romanian ethnogenesis and on the Genovese colonies from the Black Sea shore. The first historian to mention Brătianu's historiographical work on Bessarabia was researcher Alexandra Zub from Iași, in 1980. The same year was marked by the publication of the first post-war edition of Brătianu's work entitled *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești*¹⁰ (*The Historical Tradition on the Setting up of the Romanian States*), a fundamental book for the understanding the setting up of the Romanian medieval states.

The same year, the historian and literary critic Valeriu Râpeanu went even further and tried Brătianu's timid political re-evaluation. In the foreword of the above-mentioned volume, Valeriu Râpeanu avoided the inappropriate appellatives that had been addressed to Brătianu in the post-war years, and even tempered his inter-war political activity. Valeriu Râpeanu was the first Romanian historian who denied the agreement between political leader Gheorghe I. Brătianu and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, head of the Iron Guard, a Fascist political party. This represented a clear signal that the situation was changing for Gheorghe I. Brătianu after decades of being called a "Fascist", a "Hitlerist" and "hungry for power" by the Romanian historiography and consequently, unworthy of being called a historian. Valeriu Râpeanu was now shocking with his statements on Brătianu. Thus, according to him, Brătianu was a "*man of a high moral integrity, he did not try to go on in his social life, scientific and university career through his political activity. His ideology, characterized by a large humanist attraction, showed no affinity to that of the chauvinistic, racist and mystical currents that he explicitly and implicitly rejected in his work through his conception*"¹¹.

Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești (*The Historical Tradition on the Setting up of the Romanian States*) was printed on the occasion of the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences and presented to the worldwide historians. From this point of view, the anti-Soviet signal was pretty clear, and the intention was to introduce the present foreign historians to the new Romanian historical and historiographical path.

Once the access to Gheorghe I. Brătianu allowed, he benefitted of several approaches, even in the cultural media of the time. In an article on the book that

⁹ Idem, „L'historiographie roumaine et l'École des Annales. Quelques interférences”, in *Analele Universității București*, București, 1979, p. 31-40

¹⁰ Gh. I. Brătianu, *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești*, Editura Cartea Românească, București, 1980

¹¹ Ștefan Gorovei, „Un eveniment (nu numai) editorial”, in *Cronica*, anul XV, nr. 39 (765), 26 septembrie, 1980, p. 2

appeared in *Cronica (The Chronicle)* from Iași, historian Ștefan Gorovei openly stated that the Romanian scholar was one of Romania's most important historians, as well as the brightest historian that activated in the period between the two World Wars¹². In the same period, university professor Emil Condurachi praised the historian Gheorghe I. Brătianu in *Contemporanul*¹³ (*The Contemporary*), while Ion Zamfirescu made references to the innovative research methods used by the great Romanian historian in *România Liberă*¹⁴ (*The Free Romania*). Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca's study called *Reconsiderarea operei lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu*¹⁵ (*The Reassessment of Gheorghe I. Brătianu's Work*) was an evident signal for Gheorghe I. Brătianu's rehabilitation as a historian. The study was published by the prestigious magazine *Transilvania (Transylvania)* from Sibiu. It was a very ample study that presented the historian's main historiographical preoccupations.

The '80s brought the most important contributions to Brătianu's reassessment as a historian. Among the first ones who brought their contributions was the well-known historian Pompiliu Teodor from Cluj. Through his contributions, *Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul. I. Dimensiunile operei (Gh. I. Brătianu – The Historian. I. The Dimension of His Work)* and *Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul. II. Concepție și metodă istorică (Gh. I. Brătianu – The Historian. II. Historical Concept and Method)*, Pompiliu Teodor sketched Gheorghe I. Brătianu's main fields of activity as well as his historical concept. He was presented to the young generation in a completely different light, as he had never been introduced before¹⁶. Professor Teodor's efforts were carried on in the last year of the Communist regime by historian Alexandru Zub from Iași, who even mentioned Brătianu's notes on Bessarabia¹⁷.

This was only one side of Gheorghe I. Brătianu's reassessment. In the last years of the Communist regime, when the Romanian-Soviet disputes were more than evident, and Nicolae Ceaușescu's relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev was more than cold, Brătianu's rehabilitation by means of re-publishing his works on Bessarabia represented a major ideological and historiographical goal, thanks to his opinions on this historical province. It is

¹² *Ibidem*

¹³ Emil Condurachi, „Considerații istorice fundamentale”, in *Contemporanul*, nr. 35 (1764), 29 august, 1980, p. 4

¹⁴ Ion Zamfirescu, „Tradiție și adevăr istoric”, in *România Liberă*, edition a II-a, 11 decembrie, 1980, p. 1

¹⁵ Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, „Reconsiderarea operei lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu”, in *Transilvania*, 17 decembrie, 1980, p. 13-14

¹⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, „Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul. I. Dimensiunile operei”, in *A.I.I.A.I.*, 1983, p. 233-247; Idem, „Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul. II. Concepție și metodă istorică”, in *A.I.I.A.I.*, 1988, p. 233-245; Idem, *Gh. I. Brătianu și spiritul „Analelor”*. Analogii, sincronisme și convergențe, in *Confluente istoriografice românești și europene*, Iași, 1988, p. 25-47

¹⁷ Al. Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică*, Iași, 1989

very interesting that all the editions by Gheorghe I. Brătianu, except for *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești* (*The Historical Tradition on the Setting up of the Romanian States*) published in 1980, were printed after the last meeting between Ceaușescu and Gorbachev on May 25-26, 1987 when the Romanian political leader realized that he no longer had Mikhail Gorbachev's support. A few days before Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival to Romania, Victor Spinei published a study in the monthly historical magazine called *Magazin istoric* (*The Historical Journal*), publication that had the approval of the propaganda. The study was entitled *Istorie la Marea cea Mare*¹⁸ (*History at The Great Sea*) and made frequent references to Gheorghe I. Brătianu's statements and work on the Black Sea and on the Romanians' role in the development of this area, contradicting Russia's dominating demands on the area of the Black Sea. Victor Spinei was also a remarkable specialist in Early Romanian Middle Age. That is why his statements rendered the interpretation more valuable, and the Soviet propaganda, which was closely supervising Romania, must have registered the text and implicitly Ceaușescu's message for Gorbachev. In fact, this meeting at the highest level was marked by several tensioned moments between Ceaușescu and Gorbachev, as well as between Elena Ceaușescu and Raisa Gorbachova.

Other fundamental works written by Gheorghe I. Brătianu were re-published in the period 1988-1989. None of these works had been printed before in Communist Romania. These were the years when the Communist horizon was growing narrower. The Romanian-Soviet disputes on the path that had to be followed in order to keep up the Communist "order" became more and more obvious, and the ideological dispute was often carried unpreparedly. It was not an accident that in 1988 they re-printed the volume entitled *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul român*¹⁹ (*An Enigma and a Historical Miracle: The Romanian People*), an extremely serious and documented pleading against the immigrationist theory, on the Romanians' South-Danubian origin and on the Romanians' continuity in the present area, inhabited since the early Middle Ages. The volume was meant as a scientific response to the Soviet historiography that asserted the idea that the Romanians settled down in this space after the Slavs' arrival in the Carpathian basin. The appeal to Gheorghe I. Brătianu proved one more time that in times of war, be it even a historiographical one, all valid fighters were accepted, be they former "enemies of the people" such as Gheorghe I. Brătianu. In the context of 1988, Brătianu became a "friend

¹⁸ Victor Spinei, „Istorie la Marea cea Mare”, in *Magazin istoric*, nr. 4, 1987, p. 28

¹⁹ Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul roman*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1988; The first edition of the paper appeared in French in 1937. Later, in 1940, after Romania lost Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the USSR (the Soviet ultimatum of 28 June, 1940), the book was also published in Bucharest, in Romanian. After the war, the events from Eastern Europe sent the book into oblivion.

of the people” as long as this was useful from an ideological point of view. The volume *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul român (An enigma and a Historical Miracle: The Romanian People)* also answered the Hungarian historiographical theories on the same immigrationist concept, a concept that became quite common in the second half of the '80s especially after the publication of *The History of Transylvania (Erdelyi Torténet/Istoria Transilvaniei)* in 1985, at Budapest. But the volume was mainly addressed to the Soviets.

Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană (The Black Sea. From Origins to the Ottoman Conquest) was also published in 1988. The book also brought arguments in favour of the presence of the Greek, Latin, Italian and Romanian civilizations in the basin of the Black Sea before the Russians could extend their domination in the region. The book appeared in a period when the Soviets were considering the Black Sea an internal sea of the Soviet Union. We should reflect upon Victor Spinei's introductory study, which was very courageous as it referred to the context when Gheorghe I. Brătianu could no longer write. His statements are quite obvious from this point of view. According to Victor Spinei, it was only “*fate that did not want Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953), as it did not want Vasile Pârvan either, to reach old age of and to fully use his scholarly skills*”²⁰. The only difference was that fate had different connotations for the two great Romanian historians. Vasile Pârvan died in 1927 due to a badly treated appendicitis, but in Gheorghe I. Brătianu's case we are talking about an assassination that took place in the prison of Sighet in 1953. Moreover, according to Victor Spinei, Brătianu's intellectual ability diminished due to his “*involvement, in his last years of live, in different public and cultural activities of major importance and in special events that bring him closer this time to C.C. Giurescu, Petre P. Panaitescu, V. Papacostea, I.I. Nistor, I. Lupaș, Al. Lapedatu, S. Dragomir, Z. Pâclișanu, T. Sauciuc Săveanu, E. Lăzărescu, Al. Marcu and to many other contemporaries of his*”²¹. The special life situations for Gheorghe I. Brătianu, as well as for those above mentioned, represented in fact the years spent in prison. All the historians mentioned were imprisoned in Sighet, where the Romanian political and cultural elite of the inter-war period was practically exterminated. The fact that these “special events” and the historians' names were even mentioned was a huge achievement, as the Romanian historians were perfectly aware of the realities. But all these were also happening due to the irreparable deterioration of the Romanian-Soviet relationships during the last years of the Communist regime,

²⁰ Victor Spinei, „Geneza sintezei lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu despre spațiul pontic”, in *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană*, vol. I, Editura Meridiane, București, 1988, p. 5

²¹ *Ibidem*

that climaxed with Nicolae Ceaușescu's denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact at the last Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (November, 1989), when he asked its revision, relying one more time on the nationalist argument. The reference to the years of Soviet-type Stalinist Communism was evident. The prison in Sighet functioned from 1950 to 1955, and the Soviets were blamed for the evolution of the Romanian historiography in the '50s. Victor Spinei said that the last years of the 5th decade and the first years of the 6th decade of the last century were marked by the imposing of certain judgements that were not common to the Romanian spirit. Consequently, even the volume *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană* (*The Black Sea. From Origins to the Ottoman Conquest*) appeared under abnormal circumstances due to "the ordeal endured by Gheorghe Brătianu in the months he was conceiving *The Black Sea*"²². The ordeal meant house arrest, during the period he was conceiving the volume, and also the years spent in prison at Sighet (1950-1953), beginning with his arrest on the night of 7-8 May, 1950. In fact, the volume was published posthumously, and in Romania it was printed only in 1988.

Gheorghe I. Brătianu's reassessment reached its peak in the same year of 1988 when, to mark 90 years since his birth, the same Victor Spinei coordinated an anniversary volume entitled *Confluente istoriografice românești și europene: 90 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Gheorghe I. Brătianu*²³ (*Romanian and European Historiographical Confluences: 90 years since Gheorghe I. Brătianu's Birth*). Many important Romanian historians published studies and articles in this volume. The volume represented Brătianu's full reassessment in the Romanian academic community, since it was a known fact that homage volumes were extremely rare in Communist Romania, and they were dedicated almost exclusively to those historians who, in one way or another, belonged to the circle of power. Although belonging to a different world, Gheorghe I. Brătianu was sent directly to the fore of the Romanian historiography.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 47

²³ *Confluente istoriografice românești și europene: 90 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Gheorghe I. Brătianu*. Coordonator: Victor Spinei, Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași, 1988, 548 p

III. EUROPEAN IDENTITIES

EUROPEAN CARPATHIANS VS. MARGINAL CARPATHIANS

Sever DUMITRAȘCU*

Abstract. *The author presents the geographical situation of Dacia (the present geographers consider the north of the Carpathians as being the centre of Europe) and the political situation between the period of Augustus and Justinian.*

*Moesia and Dacia were Danubian border provinces on the Danube: Augustinian Moesia and Trajanian Dacia, respectively Aurelian and Constantinian ones. Over 600 years, Roman and Roman-Byzantine rules had grounded the Latin language in the Carpathians and at the Danube, in other words the Roman *forma mentis*.*

The solid contacts with the Latinity were strengthened during the paleo-Christian period in Southeast Europe (there were 14 bishoprics and 40 paleo-Christian basilicas along the Danube).

Latin and Christian scholars, such as Nicetas of Remesiana, Dionysius Exiguus and John Cassian had an important contribution, which should not be disregarded, to the strengthening of the relationship (definitively Christian one) between Dacia and the Western Latin part of Europe.

Keywords: *Carpathians, Te Deum, Dionysius Exiguus, John Cassian, Danube, Latinity.*

It is widely known that the landmark of the centre of Europe was set by the present “surveyors” of the continent in the north of the Carpathian Mountains (Ukraine). However, the Carpathians and the whole Carpathian-Danubian area are geo-politically considered as part of the Southeast Europe, with the precise indication: from the *north* of the Balkan Mountains chain.

From the Romanian Carpathians guarding like a huge bird the “nest” of Transylvania, the Carpathian lands spread their wings in the three horizons, in three huge geographical and geo-morphological amphitheatres:

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- A. The eastern amphitheatre: the Eastern Carpathians, the foothills of Moldova, high plain and low plain (the buried soil) of the Romanian “Mesopotamia”, up to the high seafront of the Dniester river;
- B. The western amphitheatre: the Western Carpathians, the foothills, the high plain and low plain (former wetland) of the Romanian Western Plain up to the Tisza’s low bank and
- C. The southern amphitheatre: the Southern Carpathians, the foothills, the high plains and the low plain (Bărăganul), the Romanian Plain, to the shine of the descending Danube, downstream (as the poet V. Voiculescu wrote - on “the descending Danube, downstream”) and even beyond the Danube, on the southern shore of the former Moesian piedmonts, far into the northern porch of the Balkans. Area strongly supported by the south Danube *spur* of the Măcinului horst, between the Danube Delta and the northern Balkan piedmonts: it is Dobrudja, the *Dobrudja* in the south of the Danube, a famous Romanian province.

On this *land* blessed by God and the Destiny, as there seems to be only one alike, that of Canada – of course, the latter huge in size, is, in our opinion, the place where the Romanian people was born – the Romanian ethnic nation, today even a *political nation*, truncated, because Bessarabia is missing, as we refer to the one from December 1, 1918.

It is the land of the *Romania from the Carpathians* and the Danube, the land of the Romanian language, Latin language spoken today by the Romanians, with all the Latin race consciousness – from the Romans we come, the seal of *Rome* in the suggestive words of Nicolae Iorga, and not suggestively, but really the only neo-Latin people that kept the Roman name, the Romans’ name (*cives romani*) until today, as a sign over the centuries and especially the LATIN, WESTERN *forma mentis* never broken up to this day. But Rome is not on the Tanais (Don), nor on the Volga, but on the Tiber, in Central Europe. To say that the Carpathians are European not just geographically, but demographically, geopolitically, humanly, is not only a scientific finding, but rather an unavoidable political and cultural reality which, we like it or not, must be RESPECTED.

In this space – of today’s eastern Romania – many interests have interfered over time, some temporary, others persisting for centuries. It was seldom that the powers reaching the Danube’s Delta and the Carpathians got to dominate the *whole space*. There were *always* marginal dominions (sided, we might say, metaphorically), so *marginal Carpathians*, from *their* point of view. Here they are:

A. Dobrudja bank, the Left Pont, as it is sometimes called, is crowded with the Greek cities: Histria, Tomis, Callatis, Tyras, Dionysopolis. According to Aristotle’s *POLITICS* 2500 years ago there was a *democratic regime* in Histria. Some cities were part – *marginally* – of the Athenian marine empire, the marine *League of Delos*. The situation was perpetuated – in terms of domination – in the *Hellenistic* period too;

B. Augustus – his generals incorporated the Dacian territory between the Danube and the Balkans (Moesia) in the Roman Empire, a century before the north-Danubian Dacia. Trajan, turned Dacia (the known areas) in 106 into the new Carpatho-Danubian imperial province, into the PROVINCE DACIA, the last massive Roman conquest (of a country) in Europe (until his death in 117 AD, he conquered in Asia the provinces - Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia), Dacia remained, slightly modified by Hadrian, Roman until 271-275, when Aurelian organized in the south of the Danube –*Dacia Aureliana*. However, Dacia always remained a *marginal* part of the empire, but the matrix of a strong and unshakable Latinity, untouched to this day by the cruel bite of time.

C. In 600 years (15-602 AD) the Carpatho-Danubian Latinity went through two stages, the first *from Augustus to Aurelian* and the second phase in 275-602, the Roman-Byzantine stage. Emperor Constantine the Great made - from our point of view, of course - three great works, symbolical *immortal* constructions:

- a) *St. Peter's Cathedral* in Rome (under the present Renaissance cathedral);
- b) The new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (NB: Roman-Byzantine!), Constantinople and

- c) The stone bridge on the Danube, between Oescus and Sucidava (Celei) that bounded the Constantinian Dacia from the north of the Danube to the Roman-Byzantine Empire. The territories from the north of the Danube, economically important and the defence line - *along Danube* – of Constantinople's defence against new attempts – “the *German flow*” (the *Visigoths*, the *Ostrogoths*!) and the “*Slavic flow*”, the latter causing the “loss” of the Danube, of the border on the river. Not long after the fall of the Danube, the LATIN Roman - Byzantine Empire, became a Greek language Empire, still multiethnic, but with this dominant language (in the military, governmental, cultural fields), so the Byzantine Empire. But in spite of the firm Roman-Byzantine Empire's domination at the Danube for yet 300 years, the Dacian provinces either from the south or north of the Danube were still marginal. The *Carpathians* were still marginal, like during the Greek-Hellenistic reign of the Romans and now, of the Roman-Byzantine Empire.

Was there a change, *though*? Yes!

The change was huge, just as the *Latinization* of the world of the Carpathian-Danubian territories – the *northern Balkanic* ones – it was a fundamental, and so far, final change – in terms of culture and conscience – the Christianization of the Latin and *non-Latin* world in these territories. Christianity whose foundations were laid still in the apostolic age (while Dacia from the north of the Danube was *still* free for 100 years, between 15-106 AD) and now the unmistakable realities of Christianity and church organization were founded - 15 bishoprics on the Danube and in Dobrudja and over 40 early Christian basilicas. And these realities were no longer marginal, because Christianity was unique - CATHOLIC = UNIVERSAL (naturally without the known churches which were more or less Monophysite) and the area of the south of the Danube (ever since

the time of the apostles, Andrew, Paul, Titus), as all the Balkans (*via Egnatia*) had become a second paleo-Christian area (after Israel and Syria-Antioch). Starting here Apostle Paul goes to Rome by sea, while Apostle Peter goes by land (he was in Epirus), to decisively build the *Roman* Christianity. The Carpathians become again European Carpathians. Let us remember with reverence the great SCHOLARS that DOBRUDJA, the Southeast of the former Dacia – gave to the Christian world and, we stress, to the Western European Christian civilization:

A. *Niceta of Remesiana* left us the *Te-Deum* (*Thee, O God, We Praise*) sung today during religious services by over 2,500,000,000 people (yes, two and a half billion Christians);

B. *Dionysius Exiguus* (Dionysius the Small), *author* of the *Christian* calendar, that we have to this day, since the time of Jesus Christ, for almost the whole of humanity; and

C. *John Cassian*, who went on a journey to understand the Christian world, reached *Massalia* (Marseilles) where he founded and structured the Western *monasticism*. But John Cassian is *Cassiodorus*'s teacher and, through him (or through both of them), the medieval Western Christian civilization and culture is conceptually defined. This is not something to be taken lightly or to be overlooked. The current medievalists say it.

These *Christian*, ORIENTAL SCHOLARS – who contributed to the transformation of the European world into the WESTERN CHRISTIAN civilization are relevant for their work. They had gone from the *Carpathians*, from the Danube and the Carpathians, but while the Danube was European, the Carpathians were “marginal”, so through them they become fully *European*.

So, the *geographically European Carpathians*, marginal in terms of imperial power, become *European* through the *Christian humanity*, universal (= CATHOLIC) until the *Great Schism*, which was not *schism* as it is clearly known today.

The Scholars “of Dacia” aulicly made the connection with the royal Dacian La Tène (European like the Celtic one, of the old Germans and so, of the Slavs) and imposed a new Christian, medieval norm in the Medieval West, *stressing*, if still necessary, the Latinity and the Christianity – first the paleo-Christianity – from the Carpathians and the Danube. Latinity = language and *forma mentis*, means Christian Western culture, Christian even before a part of the West, it also means the European Carpathians, the Carpathians of the Romanian, Latin people.

And this *Latinity* was not shallow (surviving during for about 1000 years of Slavic domination – in the sixth century - 1688 – the *Bible* from Bucharest was published), this Latin language was the language of the Romanian nation, not just of a part of the boyars = Boliari. *Antonio Bonfini* was right when he said that Romanians defended in their history – “more their language than their life”, the Latin language of the Romanian peasants and shepherds spoken in their Carpathians, which were European *not* only geographically, but in spirituality, as well.

PROJECTS AND ATTEMPTS FOR THE EUROPEAN AGGREGATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN PERIOD

Ovidiu MUREȘAN*

Abstract. *The Carolingian dream of unifying Western Europe was compromised during the 11th – 14th centuries by the permanent confrontation between the papacy and the Roman – German Empire or the French kingdom. The conflict between Sacerdocy and the Empire gradually took the dramatic shape of a fight for actual authority on the Western Europe level. Other federalization plans are materialized in Western Europe after the last bastion of the crusaders from the Latin Orient is conquered by the Islamic counter-offensive in May 1291: the paper “De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae”, written sometime after 1308, by the French lawyer Pierre Dubois (1250-1321) and the monumental paper, entitled “Secreta fidelium crucis”, shaped by Marino Sanudo Il Vecchio (1274-1343), descendent of a peer family from Naxos. Even the Florentine poet Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), crucial personality of the pre-Renaissance European culture stated his option in favour of a united Europe in his treaty, entitled “De Monarchia” (1308). The federalization project suggested by the French lawyer Pierre Dubois is continued in the Renaissance period, on the aggravation circumstances of the Ottoman danger, by the adventurer Antoine Marini, nobleman of Bohemia king, Georg Podiebrad alias Jiří z Poděbrad (1420-1471), in his treaty, “De Unione Christianorum contra Turcas”. But, the most coherent plan of political aggregation of pre-modern Europe was conceived in France at the beginning of the 17th century. Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully (1559-1641) shaped in 1638 the famous plan of political reorganization, known as “Grand Project” (“Grand Dessein”). Only Moscow, namely Russia, was missing from his script. The “Grand Project” of the Duke of Sully suggested a reconfiguration of the European frontiers, with the purpose of installing an ideal economic, territorial and religious balance. The*

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new repartition of the borders envisioned fifteen formulas of political domination: six hereditary kingdoms (France, Spain, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden and Lombardy), six elective powers (the Pope State, Venice, the Roman-German Empire, Poland, Hungary and Bohemia) and three federative republics (Switzerland, Italy and Belgium). This “Europe of the Fifteen”, was aggregated in a confederation coordinated by six private counsellors and a general council. In the French duke’s vision, this sophisticated political construction, pacified by balancing utopian bodies, was going to combine forces to annihilate exemplarily and definitively the monstrous Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: *federalism, Western Europe, Christian unity, Alliance project, super-power, Ottoman danger.*

The Carolingian dream of unifying Western Europe was compromised during the 11th – 14th centuries by the permanent confrontation between the papacy and the Roman – German Empire or the French kingdom (emperor Henry IV – 1056-1106 and king Philip the Fair – 1268-1314). The conflict between Sacerdocy and the Empire gradually took the dramatic shape of a fight for actual authority on the Western Europe level. Obviously, the *de facto* motive of the mutual attacks was falsified by numerous pretexts: the dispute for the investiture between Pope Gregory VII and the Roman-German Emperor Henry IV, the taxes upon the clergy (conflict between Philip IV called “the Fair” and Boniface VIII) or the acceptance in advance of the candidate to the imperial throne by the Pope (confrontation between Louis of Bavaria and John XXII, 1314-1326)¹.

Continuing with the politics of the authoritarian popes, Gregory VII and Innocent III, Boniface VIII pursued tenaciously the transformation of the pontifical power into an instrument of universal domination, superior in terms of amplitude to any other secular universal monarchy. In the dreamt world empire, incorporating the entire Christianity, the kingdoms and the laic principalities became some common fiefs of the Holy Seer. The aspirations of Boniface VIII are clearly expressed in the eight bulls and encyclicals issued between 1296 and 1303. All such texts, but mainly the bull *Unam sanctam*, assert, in imperative variants, the supremacy of the Church upon the world powers and its superiority upon all peoples. The monarchs were ordained to manage the power according to the instructions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

The conflict between Philip IV and Boniface VIII started when the king of France charged taxes on the clergy to fund the war against the England’s king, Eduard I. The French monarch’s action opposed the decision of the 4th Lateran

¹ Fr. Atger, *Essai sur l’histoire des doctrines du contrat social*, Paris, 1906, p. 48.

Council through which the clergy was prohibited to pay taxes to the laic sovereigns without the Pope's approval. Boniface reacted through the bull *Clericis laicos* (1296), which contested the obligation of the clerical class to provide taxes to the laic rulers without the approval of the Holy See. Confronted with the embargo imposed by Philip IV upon the currency export from France, the sovereign pontiff had to retreat through a new bull, *Etsi de statu* (1297), that exempted the French king from the observance of the prohibitive measures provided in the *Clericis laicos*² document by invoking an emergency situation.

The second phase of the conflict was launched in 1301, when the daring monarch of France arrested and judged the Pamiers bishop, accusing him of fallacy, blasphemy and betrayal. The action trenched upon a fundamental principle of the canonical law, namely that related to the bishops' rights to be judged and punished only by the papacy. Boniface responded to the challenge by requiring unconditioned release of the bishop, revoking the privileges guaranteed by the bull *Etsi de statu* and summoning the French bishops to a council that was going to be held in Rome. The warning was accompanied by the bull *Ausculta fili* (1301), through which the pontiff drew the king of France's attention upon the fact that he only had the rank of a simple vassal of the ecclesiastic hierarchy head. The French Court reacted through the conviction of the Pope by the general states and put pressures upon the French bishops to persuade them not to participate in the Rome Council³.

On the political thinking level, the second dispute culminates with the bull *Unam sanctam*, which highlighted the fact that the relation between the spiritual and the temporal power is strictly hierarchical. Therefore, to redeem themselves, all human creatures, including the laic sovereigns, were going to be subject to the pontiff, who was the earthly representative of Divinity. The uncompromising attitude of Boniface VIII led to the catastrophe from Anagni, in September 1303, followed, in a short time, by the exile of Holy See at Avignon, for a period of 70 years⁴.

This rivalry to impose supremacy determined the humanist authors of the time to reactivate various theories related to the universal monarchy. In addition, a few general – European aspects (regaining of the Holy Land by organizing new crusades, exploring Asia with the help of missionaries and itinerant traders, the Iberian Reconquista and the protection of the Byzantium against the impetuous attacks of the Muslims) were successfully solved by an oversized monarchy.

In the spirit of the conception mentioned above, Aegidius Romanus (1246-1316), in *De potestate ecclesiastica* and Jacopo de Viterbo (?-1308), in *De*

² J. Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450*, London and New York, 1996, p. 137-138.

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 138-139.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 139; I. M. Peter, *Dante și Monarhia*, in „RFR”, V, nr. 2, 1938, pp. 376-378.

regimine christiano pleaded for a macro-state that should incorporate the entire Christian Europe and should be led by an emperor. In *De prerogativa Romani Imperii*, drafted by Jordan de Osnabrück (1220-1284) and Alexander de Roes (?-1300), skills and assignments are shared within the continent: the Empire pertains to Germany, Rome has the piety and France has the science. According to the theory of Engelbert d'Admont (1250-1331), expressed in *De ortu et Fine Romanii Imperii*, the Roman Empire had to be resuscitated to annihilate the military success of the Ismal, but under the form of a confederation that will not prejudice the autonomy of the component kingdoms. The emperor was not going to be an actual monarch, in the feudal meaning of the word, but rather a peace arbitrator. Similar projects are expressed in *Dialogus*, by Willhelm of Occam (1285-1349) or in *De Juribus Regni et Imperii Romani* by Leopold of Bebenburg (1297-1363)⁵.

Other federalization plans are materialized in Western Europe after the Acra harbour, the last bastion of the crusaders from the Latin Orient, is conquered by the Islamic counter-offensive in May 1291. The most viable seems to be the one shaped by the French lawyer Pierre Dubois (1250-1321), in the paper *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*, written sometime after 1308. In the medieval theoretician's vision, only a pacified Europe, under the spiritual aegis of the papacy, could respond to the Islam through a new possible crusade. In order to maintain the continental peace, it was necessary to initiate an international arbitration, operated by a council formed of laics and clerics, recruited from all European Christian ethnic groups. But, as he was French, Pierre Dubois did not hesitate to give, in the system of political responsibilities, exceptional prerogatives to his own sovereign. The exclusive provision triggered the fierce reaction of the proud European monarchs and princes, as they saw themselves stripped of the absolute sovereignty that they were practicing and launched in the position of subordinate political authorities⁶.

Descendent of a peer family from Naxos, Marino Sanudo Il Vecchio (1274-1343) developed in his monumental paper entitled *Secreta fidelium crucis* the experience of a life spent almost entirely in Levant. This explains his extremely pragmatic solutions suggested to the Western (laic or ecclesiastic) sovereigns for the organization of an effective counter-offensive against the Egyptian state of the Mamelukes, the main opponent of the crusaders in the Near East. Sanudo thought it was necessary to institute a blockade upon the Muslim commercial centres under the direct control of the papacy, which could sanction

⁵ J.B. Duroselle, *L'idée d'Europe dans l'histoire*, Paris, 1965, p. 65-67; L. Gyémánt, *Preistoria construcției europene*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 10; Ov. Mureșan, *Umanism, Renaștere și Papalitate în secolul al XV-lea*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, pp. 114-115.

⁶ Gh. I. Bratianu, *L'Organisation de la paix dans l'histoire universelle*, București, 1997, pp. 164-167; E.H. Meyer, *Die staats-und völkerrechtlichen Ideen von Peter Dubois*, Leipzig, [f.a.], pp. 105-106.

with excommunication those who violated the prohibition. The boycott of the trade with Alexandria and the rest of the harbours from the Arab world would have induced devastating effects upon the income sources of the Egyptian sultan, that were fed almost exclusively by the commercial taxes. The interruption of slaves' delivery, purchased by the Genoese sailors from the Black Sea basin (the so-called "*balaban*"), softened the Mameluke troops. On the other hand, with no sources, Egypt was to a great extent dependent on certain raw materials, as well as ammunition supplied by the Italian or Catalan traders. In a short while, after the application of the strategy suggested by Sanudo, the Genoese started to break the blockade in exchange of some privileges offered by the Mameluke sultan, and the Venetian traders obtained temporarily a papacy exemption that allowed continuation of trading operations with the enemy from the Nile entries⁷.

Even the Florentine poet Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), crucial personality of the pre-Renaissance European culture, stated his option in favour of a united Europe. In *De Monarchia* (1308), the author of *Inferno* considered that the instauration of the universal peace is conditioned by the foundation of an all-embracing monarchy. In this "*States Universal Society*", the emperor had the mission to dominate, in the name of the superior intelligence with which he had been endowed by Divinity. *De Monarchia* is the first proclamation in favour of a federal union under the "*Roman*" aegis (western – catholic), glorifying the Christian unity, medieval myth by excellence⁸.

Dante's treaty about monarchy is the first complete doctrinaire manifestation of the European political thinking, the perfect sublimation of the Christian empire idea that had agonized in the western conscience during the Middle Ages. Despite its often transparent dogmatism, the respective political construction cannot be attached to the series of utopian fabrics which, once with the Renaissance, invaded the European political thinking. This first treaty that approaches from a philosophical perspective the aspect of universal monarchy deals with the Roman *Caesars*, perfect embodiments of the imperial virtue, and the *princes* more or less legitimate of the monarchies, or the *political leaders* of the republics from Italy of 13th century, all animated by divergent political tendencies and interests. As he selected the political paradigmatic pattern from the ancient history, Dante mainly strives to prove the legitimacy and universality of the Roman Empire. In his opinion, Rome was the masterpiece of Divinity, and its history an unanswerable proof of the rationality of the universal empire. Therefore, the Roman-German emperor, as heir of the Roman Empire, was a

⁷ Aziz S. Atiya, *Kreuzfahrer und Kaufleute. Die Begegnung von Christentum und Islam*, München, 1973, pp. 86-87.

⁸ Dante Alighieri, *Opere minore*, București, 1971, pp. 605-688; D. de Rougemont, *Vingt-huit siècle d'Europe*, Paris, 1961, p. 56; G. Uscătescu, *Proces umanismului*, București, 1987, pp. 172-173; Al Balaci, *Dante*, București, 1965, pp. 131-139; Ov. Mureșan, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74; I.M. Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-380.

legatee of Divinity. Accordingly, the divine right of the kings and emperors annihilated the Church's demands, namely of the papacy, to appoint and sacralise the monarch⁹.

In the vision of the *Divine Comedy*'s poet, the political science does not have a speculative goal, but a practical one: applying the good governance principle. A simple instrument in the governance strategy, the political art is anchored in the contingent. Starting from this premise, the treaty *De Monarchia* outlined the possible scenarios for the integration of the Italian states of the time in a harmonious universal Empire, an ideal political context, in which they were going to exert plenarily their tutelary skills. Therefore, Dante assigns to the Italians a messianic, director and coordinating role, in the configuration of the long-dreamt universal monarchy. This confederation of states, which would still preserve its autonomy and specific features, is the ultimate goal of the Dantian political doctrine, the aspiration of a cosmopolitan, in the meaning of the wish to create a perfect understanding between peoples, by installing universal peace¹⁰.

The federalization project suggested by the French lawyer Pierre Dubois is continued in the Renaissance period, on the aggravation circumstances of the Ottoman danger, by the adventurer Antoine Marini, nobleman of Bohemia king, Georg Podiebrad alias Jiří z Poděbrad (1420-1471). In his treaty, *De Unione Christianorum contra Turcas*, in order to assure peace, he suggested the summoning of a representative assembly ("Congregatio Concordiae"), formed of most Christian sovereigns¹¹. In the winter of 1462-1463 Antoine Marini made a trip through Venice, Burgundy, France and suggested to the king Louis XI an alliance project.

The *Memoirs* of Philippe de Commines (1447-1511) describe the offer presented: an alliance and confederation treaty between Louis XI (1461-1483), Georg Podiebrad and Signoria Venice, to stand the Turks. It was also suggested to co-opt the kings of Hungary, Poland and the dukes of Burgundy and Bavaria in the network of the federative system. The two authorities animated by universalist ambitions were excluded: the papacy and the Roman-German Empire. The project failed after the opposition manifested by the two popes, Pius II (1458-1464) and Paul II (1464-1471), but, anyway, they represent the first model of continental confederation that guaranteed national sovereignty and the autonomy of the member states. From a structural point of view, the federation provided an Assembly that operated according to the system of simple majority, a Court of Justice, a procedure of international arbitration, a common armed force and a federal budget. The first three articles of the Treaty consisted in the

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 174.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 175-176; Al. Balaci, *Dante*, București, 1965, pp. 131-139.

¹¹ J.B. Duroselle, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68; D. Heater, *Europäische Einheit – Biographie einer Idee*, Bochum, 2005, pp. 28-32. D. de Rougemont, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

following: the contractors will not resort to weapons one against the other, will not offer their help or advice to the conspiracies directed against one of them, will repress the crimes committed by their subjects on the territory of each member state, will provide mutual assistance and will resort to international arbitration in case of disputes¹².

But, the most coherent plan of political aggregation of pre-modern Europe was conceived in France at the beginning of 17th century. In the last years of Henry IV's reign (1589-1610), as superintendent of finances, constructions and fortifications, a great master of artillery, great supervisor of the communication means and governor of Poitou, Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully (1559-1641), had a preponderant influence upon the internal and external politics of the French kingdom. His position softened after the assault of Ravallac (14 May 1610), having as result the death of the French sovereign. Fallen in disgrace and exiled voluntarily on his personal domains, he elaborated a vast apologetic work, with memorial touches, entitled in an abbreviated formula, *OEconomies royales*, in which he exposed his restructuring project of the European political spectrum. Shaped in this treaty that was printed partially in 1638, the famous plan of political reorganization, known as *Grand Project* ("Grand Dessen") and assigned by the author to provide an additional prestige to Henry IV, concerned the geopolitical re-balance of the entire continent. Only Moscow, namely Russia, was missing from his script. The *Grand Project* of the Duke of Sully suggested a reconfiguration of the European frontiers, with the purpose of installing an ideal economic, territorial and religious balance¹³.

The new repartition of the borders meant to eliminate the inter-dynasty stress and the endemic military conflicts that affected the international relations during the 16th century envisioned fifteen formulas of political domination: *six hereditary kingdoms* (France, Spain, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden and Lombardy), *six elective powers* (the Pope State, Venice, the Roman-German Empire, Poland, Hungary and Bohemia) and *three federative republics* (Switzerland, Italy and Belgium). This "*Europe of the Fifteen*", was aggregated in a confederation coordinated by *six private counsellors* and a *general council*. These guiding forums were authorized to defuse the possible conflicts arising between the states or between the sovereigns and their subjects¹⁴.

In the French duke's vision, this sophisticated political construction, pacified by balancing utopian bodies, was going to combine forces to annihilate exemplarily and definitively the monstrous Ottoman Empire, which, even after the devastating naval failure suffered at Lepanto (1571), continued to remain a serious and persistent threat for the continental Christianity. In the presumptive

¹² D. de Rougemont, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

¹³ B. Barbiche, *Sully invente une Europe des Quinze*, in „*Historia*”, nr. 652, aprilie, 2001, pp. 28-29.

¹⁴ D. de Rougemont, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

anti-Ottoman campaign, the *general council* was setting the military contingencies and the financial contributions that the confederated powers had to provide, it was also coordinating the military operations and presided the distribution of territories conquered from the Islamic opponent. The first consequence of eliminating the Ottoman danger would have been the instauration of universal and perpetual peace in Europe¹⁵.

Obviously, the visionary geopolitical reshuffle suggested by Sully was conceived from a partisan, pro-French perspective, and in the detriment of the House of Austria, therefore in accordance with the European political vision shared by Henry IV, Louis XIII (1610-1643) and cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). Typical incarnation of the super-power dominant in the 16th century, he circled the neighbouring kingdom of France, by the prodigious extension of his possessions and impressed an acute feeling of insecurity and anxiety on the level of the entire continent. Therefore, we should not be surprised by the fact that in the theoretical variant of the French political project, the Habsburgs did not cumulate Bohemia and Hungary's crowns and they were losing Alsace, the Tirol, Franche-Comté, the southern region of the Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sicily¹⁶.

The idea of setting-up some super-national bodies on continental scale to facilitate the universal peace, launched by the Duke of Sully, three centuries before Robert Schuman, made a career in the next centuries. *The Grand Project* was a perpetual centre of influence for all the authors of more or less utopian political plans, from the 17th and 18th centuries, starting with Amos Comenius, William Penn, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, the superior of Saint-Pierre and ending with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant or count Henri of Saint-Simon. Yet, one detail is symptomatic. If in the 17th century the continuators of the French Huguenot were generally clerics or preachers, in the Century of Lights they become philosophers, and in the "nations period" they are, by excellence, revolutionists, voluminous publicists and visionaries, or ideologists like Giuseppe Mazzini, Victor Hugo and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. The last one is considered the founder of modern federalism. In his capital paper, published posthumously and entitled *Du Principe Fédératif*, he treats sarcastically the project of some United States of the continent. In his view, the European federation was going to be formed of constituent elements already organized as federations. Europe had to become a federation of federations. In his opinion only such federalism could institute a real continental balance¹⁷.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 96-97;

¹⁶ B. Barbiche, *op. cit.*, p. 32; G. I. Bratianu, *op.cit.*, p. 217; R.H. Foerster, *Europa. Geschichte einer politischen Idee*, München, 1967, p. 140.

¹⁷ B. Vuyenne, *Histoire de l'idée européenne*, Paris, 1964, pp. 139-143.

EUROPEAN IMAGES AND POLICIES REFLECTED IN THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS OF THE ROMANIAN EXTRA-CARPATHIAN SPACE (18TH-19TH CENTURY)

Radu ROMÎNAȘU*

Abstract: *Modernity began in the Romanian space in 1821-1848 and continued in an obvious manner between 1859 and 1866. In this last period, Romania experienced modernity for the first time, by consolidating its multiple links with the Western cultural space. The main problem was the inability of these modernizing elements to reach at the basis of all the structures of the Romanian society. As a result, it affected only the surface layer, represented by the elite. So the elements of modernity didn't become a "modus vivendi" for each individual, institution or social group. The result was that changes appeared only in certain sections of the social life, supported and promoted by groups concerned only with their social and economic condition. The conclusion is that the attempts and successes regarding the modernization of the Romanian space in the specified period constituted an act of adaptation and survival of the national elite and the goals pursued by its given geopolitical realities. Some forms taken from the West were perfectly assimilated, others only partially, leading to the emergence of hybrid elements, which were not always completed by a political, economic or cultural performance. Others, on the contrary, did not "root" at all in the local realities and repercussions can be seen up to these days.*

Keywords: *modernism, West, European synchronism, Romanian Principalities, gap.*

In an era situated between Cromwell's revolution and the promulgation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, modernity followed a path left unfinished to this day. Over time, a legitimate question had been formulated: What exactly differentiates it from the previous eras?

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First of all, it has been said that modernity extended the framework of values proposed to humanity. Starting with the classical humanism, modernity never ceased to expand this framework through wars, colonialism, missionary activity and forced conversions, therefore by sword or, on the contrary, by the book and the cross, frequently by both methods, on land, but also by sea¹.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century this pre-modern frame of values began to prove its limits, becoming insufficient. The causes are multiple, and we can inventory, in random order, some of them: the development of modern science, the first industrial revolution, the intellectual and mentality changes, the emergence of institutionalized education as a “mass” phenomenon. We must not forget that modernity was announced also by the profound changes in philosophy, including political philosophy, based on Machiavelli and Descartes’ philosophy to the English liberal economists or French “Encyclopaedists”. We are dealing, therefore, with a huge intellect anxiety that contaminated the spirits, with a true “crisis” of the consciousness. All of which led to an inevitable revolution in the field of values².

This change of mentalities and institutions was achieved due to the three great modern political revolutions: the English Revolution, the American Revolution and the French Revolution. Their main role was to synthesize the new framework of values. Interestingly enough, the change was not made by the dissolution of the old framework, but by its completion. Modernity marks, of course, a rupture, but one with many continuities. Traditional values had not been abandoned, they appeared with new elements, which modernity not only preserved, but also proposed. It is about legality, brought by the Anglo-Saxon revolutions, which were rather peaceful, and about the three values, stated by the motto of the French Revolution: liberty, equality and solidarity.

The expansion of the European cultural model followed. In its centre we discern a “hard core” consisting of the following four fundamental values: a political philosophy, centred on the subject and on the individual’s sovereignty, a free market economy, a scientific spirit and the secularization (Alain Touraine)³. These lead to other defining attributes of modernity: the economical performances of the capitalism, based on private property and free-market, on the competition between the economic actors and also on the power of the scientific knowledge, which reaches its results also through competition; the political performances of democracy, focusing on political pluralism, on the freedom of expression and association and the whole set of rights and liberties “of man and citizen”; the anthropological achievements of the liberal democratic system, based not only on the free market and the rights and liberties mentioned above,

¹ Paul Valéry, *Criza spiritului și alte eseuri*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1996, p. 260-272.

² Paul Hazard, *Criza conștiinței europene: 1680- 1715*, Editura Univers, București, 1974, p. 324.

³ H. R. Patapievici, *Discernământul modernizării. 7 conferințe despre situația de fapt*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1995, p. 57.

but also on the virtues of a public education, at first gradually generalized, subsequently becoming “permanent”.

This core of values, that has continued to expand, proved compelling universal virtues. Moreover, these elements radiate in all dimensions of culture and, if the distinction is still relevant from state to state or from one region to another, we understand that it is a different perception from case to case. We believe that a cultural product is Western and therefore “European” to the extent that we find mirrored in it the specific framework of values. Wherever we may find the actual manifestations of these values, it would be about Western European culture, regardless of the geographic location. And where these values are demagogically and non-substantially invoked, we can only speak about Europeanizing trends, about aspirations of Westernization, therefore we will have to deal with the transition to modernity.

In conclusion, modernity promotes a free and responsible human person, open to knowledge, able to take risks and initiatives, and to compete in all areas of socio-cultural activity.

After this brief excursus on modernity, a new question arises: does the Romanian society, from the centuries we refer to, through the reform projects, designed and implemented by its elite, integrate in the standards of modernity?

We try to outline a possible solution based on the claim that Romanians have always been in Europe and their relationship was continuous and multiform. The history of the Romanians developed at a terrible crossroads of interests, and their existence remains “a miracle and a mystery”. Therefore, over time, we can quantify at least two important attributes of the Romanian people: an extraordinary ability of resistance and a power to adapt to the most complicated situations⁴.

The Romanian people, a Latin island in the midst of a Slavic sea, was, during the period in question, under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte.

Turkish domination was pushed to the Balkans and Mediterranean Sea by the expansion of two new competitors from the South-Eastern Europe: the Tsarist and the Habsburg Empires. Their interests met on the line of the Carpathians and each one sought to make the three Romanian provinces their own area of influence.

Consequently, between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the East and the West set their borders on the Carpathian line. A voluminous historiography has taught us that while Transylvania and Banat entered a phase of modernization under the influence of a Habsburg-German type of *Aufklärung*, the Principalities became prey to the looting and corruption of the so-called Phanariot regime. Furthermore, from 1711 until 1821, 31 Phanariot rulers, from 11 families, set for no less than 75 times on the thrones of the two countries.

⁴ Dan Berindei, *România și Europa în perioadele premodernă și modernă*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1997, p. 5.

The establishment of this Greek Phanariot aristocracy in the Principalities and its Oriental absolutist regime determined the Romanian elite to embrace, for pragmatic reasons of survival, the cultural Greek-Oriental import. The two Romanian provinces were considered peripheral territories of the Turkish Empire and were systematically looted, being converted into operation theatres for no less than nine wars over 100 years, from 1774 to 1875. Western travellers were terrified of the Phanariots' greed, corruption and abuses, including the Greek bureaucracy installed here, the poverty of the Romanian villages, the villagers' ignorance and illiteracy, the boyars' greed and cowardice, the clergy's backwardness and, overall, the general turmoil that reigned in the administration etc. In the eyes of the Western people, the Moldavian-Wallachian space was perceived as "Far Asia" or "Far East". We notice this complex of being situated on a territory in an area outside civilization to a number of representatives of the Romanian society, especially those who came into contact with the realities of the West. This fact has been translated into a general dissatisfaction towards the situation and thus it resulted in the desire to reform the Romanian society.

A radiograph of the society from the two Principalities in the early nineteenth century would help us identify two completely different levels of life:

1. At the level of the great boyars – the political and cultural elite – we may identify a Greek-Turkish model of civilization and culture, translated by imitating the Phanariot rulers in terms of food, clothing and habits, a Turkish lifestyle being adopted. During the 100 years of the Phanariot regime, these habits had also extended to the rural boyars, great merchants and even to the urban dwellers.

2. The peasantry, "bending its back under the storm", was seeking to perpetuate its language, faith, costumes and traditional customs. When it could not bear anymore the poverty and the personal dependence – it took the path of the outlawry – and folklore told the deeds of the outlaws⁵.

Then the Russian-Austrian-Turkish wars, almost all being pursued on the territory of the Principalities, resulted in, first of all, the decrease by at least 5-10 percent of the population, killed during the military operations, outbreaks of plague and cholera, a drastic reduction of the livestock, consequence of the requisitions and robbery practiced by the armies of occupation. Another serious consequence was the obligation of the Principalities to contract exorbitant loans for the payment of war reparations on behalf of Turkey or Russia⁶.

After this "quick glance" – to use Nicolae Bălcescu's words – at the general aspects related to the Phanariot rules, we may clearly see how the

⁵ Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2000, p. 112; Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie a românilor povestită celor tineri* (here and after: *O scurtă istorie...*), Editura Humanitas, București, 2002, p. 161.

⁶ Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie...* p. 147; Pompiliu Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-26.

Romanian historiography has labelled this period as one of the darkest in the history of the Romanian Principalities. As a result, it represents two centuries of the past about to be wiped out under a reductive and generalizing sight. Sensing the danger, the newer historiography began *sine ira et studio* to pay attention to the “small facts” behind the “big events”, to the details and nuances, to the confrontation between different points of view and between the official documents and the literary works – from the outside as well as from the inside – reviving the complexity and richness of a world of good and evil. Therefore, we believe that the Phanariots, even if they did not make out of the prosperity of the Romanian Principalities their main goal, beyond the reality of the robbery and corruption, they did try to give to the Extra-Carpathian Romanian space, saturated with the Orient, something of the Western mirage. For example, the Phanariots were interested in the French culture, they introduced this language in schools, they had French secretaries and they left an impressive legacy of libraries containing French books (see Nicolae Mavrocordat’s case)⁷. In addition, the ideas of the French Revolution penetrated the Romanian Principalities through the Greek culture. It is also notable the fact that the first translations of the fundamental works of modern European thinking, such as the writings of Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau, were made in Greek and they circulated in this form in the Romanian society. As a result, in the Phanariot period we can talk about a modernization through refraction, meaning the existence of an indirect route of Westernization through South-East European culture.

The emergence and development of national consciousness, after 1750, made possible the idea of regeneration and national revival of the Romanians, of cultural renaissance. This phenomenon had the significance of a modernization, that could have not been possible but through Europeanization, more precisely, through the exiting from the Turkish-Oriental world, by renouncing to the institutions lacking modernity and refractory to the new. Enforcing the new reform projects aiming at the new direction was hampered by the fluctuations of the Ottoman ruling and not least by the hostility of a part of the boyars. However, the aggravation of the Ottoman decadence and the series of Russian-Austrian-Turkish wars also caused the emergence on the historical stage of the new anti-Phanariot political solutions through the national liberation movement, generically known in history as the “National Party”.

The idea of modernization was linked in a restricted sense to the integration process of the Romanian society in Europe. Statehood in Western Europe became, in such a context, the model for the Romanian society, which has been for centuries under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte, Oriental state par excellence, frozen in medieval structures. Therefore, modernization, in its complexity, firstly involved the connection of the Romanian state structures with

⁷ Dan Berindei, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83; Pompiliu Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

what was perceived as significant in the ideology and philosophy of the West, concerning the relationship between monarchs and statecraft, expressed in the revolutions from the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Consequently, we agree with Eugen Lovinescu's statement that "at the base of any cultural progress – in the period we refer to – there stands the generating principle of a Western influence"⁸.

The statement of the literary critic can also be corroborated with a belief reinforced by Archimandrite Grigore, who in 1798 enthusiastically wrote about the people of Europe: "they have sharp minds, are unfaltering and brave; in Europe so many wise men were born, so many codices makers, physicians, rhetoricians and elected rulers, who tamed, taught and conquered all the other nations of the world with the power of their mind, language and arm; in it flourished and flourish sciences, crafts, the good habits and the good immortality; and it is fit that this Europe should be called the ornament of the world"⁹.

The admiration for Europe is unequivocally shown in the writings of Ienache Văcărescu, who considered the Western scholars "people worthy of praise"¹⁰.

After a series of reformist projects initiated by the Phanariots (Constantin Mavrocordat's reforms, the Calimachi Code, Caragea's Law) which were meant to socially and politically homogenize the conditions from the two extra-Carpathian Principalities, preparing in the same time the unification from the next century, the boyars with progressive ideas attempted to internationalize the issue of the Romanian Principalities. They initiated a series of memoranda of Western influence that advanced the idea of the union of Wallachia and Moldavia, namely the older European idea of a Romanian buffer state, under the protection of the West. These local signals identified since 1772 were intended to motivate the substitution of the Phanariot regime, resorting to historical rights. The memoranda, by their content, testify a pro-Western attitude of the boyars and of a part of the clergy, a modern trend which will be the starting point of the protesting program from the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next one. Statements such as the "civilized West", "Enlightened West", "Enlightened Europe" or "Europe of the spirit" can be found in these documents and they are very suggestive on the orientation of the Romanian political elite. The obsessive repetition of these formulas shows a collective mentality that manifests itself in this direction. Moreover, Petrache Poenaru said in 1839 that mankind "is living an era of general race towards the stage of progress. The nations of Europe ...

⁸ Eugen Lovinescu, *Istoria civilizației române moderne*, Editura Minerva, București, 1997, p. 8.

⁹ Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche: 1716-1808*, vol. II, Atelierele Grafice Socec et Co. București, 1910, p. 406.

¹⁰ Alexandru Papiu Ilarian, *Tesaur de monumente istorice pentru România*, vol. II, București, 1863, p. 287.

extending their lights to the very last borders of their contents, put an annihilation condition to any nation that will remain in stillness, in the middle of public progress”¹¹.

One can talk about a real Western-inspired political project consisting of numerous memoranda, all articulated in relation to an imperative problem: regaining the independence by removing the Turkish-Phanariot domination.

For example, between 1716 and 1821, the boyars required for no less than 40 times the replacing of the Phanariots with local rulers, memoranda being sent to Vienna, Constantinople and Paris. Especially France was regarded with admiration by Romanian boyars, which through the Revolution and the Empire’s actions was the main carrier of the new ideas. There were also stipulated various forms of government for the Principalities: from an aristocratic republic led by 12 great boyars (project belonging to Gavril Callimachi, Bishop of Moldavia) until the eight projects submitted between 1817-1818 by the grand treasurer Iordache Rosetti-Rosnoveanu, who proposed an interesting regime: the reign was meant to be an ordinary supervisory and control organ, the real power passing into the hands of the Public Assembly and a divan controlled by boyars¹².

Around these memoranda a political thinking is formed in Moldavia and Wallachia, a thinking which sought to reform these countries towards their integration in the values of the modern world.

Finally, the political program, through its national claims, managed a first concrete success during the revolutionary movement led by Tudor Vladimirescu.

Out of all the proclamations, the one from Padeș seems most significant, since it raises a fundamental human right, namely the right of resistance to oppression, mentioned in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* of August 26, 1789. The idea is illustrated in a simple and familiar style, Tudor using, at times, the Biblical parable and the sermon pulpit rhetoric, well-known to the common man “When the snake comes your way, you hit it with a cudgel, to defend your life ... But the dragons that swallow us alive, our leaders, says I, both the church and the political ones, until when should we suffer them sucking on our blood and being their slaves”¹³. We note that, influenced by the generous ideas of the Great French Revolution of 1789, Tudor divests the leading authority from its sacred character. It is for the first time when the individual acquires the status of person, that is, when it is spoken about man’s natural right to have a number of rights. If the rulers make decisions contrary to the public good, the individual is entitled to protest and rebel: “There is no law that would prevent a

¹¹ Bogdan Murgescu, *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2010, p. 16.

¹² Vlad Georgescu, *Ideii politice și iluminism în Principatele Române (1750-1831)*, Editura Academiei, București, 1971, p. 108-109.

¹³ ****Documente privind istoria României. Răscoala din 1821*, coordonator Andrei Oțetea, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1959, p. 207.

man from meeting evil with evil”¹⁴. It is well known the fact that the Great French Revolution was concerned with the extension of the nation’s social, civic recognition and legal rights of each individual, to promote freedom and equality, which contributed to the conceptualization, explanation and to the cultural-juridical assumption of the concept of citizenship. This idea of *citizen* and *citizenship* is present in the document filed by Tudor Vladimirescu.

In his famous letter addressed to the noblemen on February 4, where Tudor talks about homeland and patriotism or in the proclamation to the people from Bucharest on March 20, where, for the first time, he calls out to the national unity consciousness, one can identify a number of concepts seen in a modern sense: “people”, “country”, “nation”, “social justice”, “democratic vision on sovereignty.” All of them come from the principles proclaimed in 1789 in the West by the French Revolution, which spread out in the consciousness from the south-eastern part of the continent¹⁵.

In addition, in 1821-1822 the boyars wrote no less than 75 memoranda and reform projects, which were submitted to the Russians, Turks and Austrians, demanding recognition of the national rights. Low and middle nobility took the initiative of political projects in the context of armed confrontations and diplomatic relations between the neighbouring powers for political supremacy in South-Eastern Europe. For example, in 1822 Ionică Tăutu wrote *Constituția cărvunarilor* which talked about native ruler, Public Assembly, respecting the autonomy, rights and freedoms. Advisor of Prince Ioniță Sandu Sturdza and Secretary of the Moldavian Capuchehaia (diplomatic representative before the Porte), Tăutu was expressing the claims of the lower aristocracy inspired by the same *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*.

The Constitution of Moldavia from September 13, 1822 is the first attempt to give consistency to the liberal tendencies manifested in Moldavian, Romanian society. The name “cărvunari” alludes to the Italian Carbonari (Carboneria). The Constitution provided principles inspired from the ideology of the French Revolution: respect for property, equality before the law, freedom of the person, etc.)¹⁶.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc*, Editura Minerva, 1973, București, 1973, p. 161-170; Pompiliu Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 166-167.

¹⁶ Vasile Cotruș, „Constituțiile României”, in *Familia*, 1938, nr. 1-2, p. 13-14 ; Pop Teodor Leon, *Constituțiile României*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică , București, 1984, p. 2. Art.1. “The people of Moldavia, which from ancient times until today had and have the right to autonomy with its ruler and its laws, under the suzerainty of the powerful kingdom it is subjected to, requires to have, and use of this right. (...) Art. 3. Absolute freedom for everyone to use to his own discretion his wealth and the fruits of any weariness or skill. Only the law may impose obligations. (...) Art. 18. All Moldavians are equal before the law; and the law is one and the same for all ... Art.19. For a good internal organization under the old privileges of the country, the people demand the strengthening of the old institution of the Community Council. Legislative power is

The European project of the French Revolution of 1789 found an echo in the Romanian space and in another political program entitled “aristocratic-democratic” prepared by Ioan Cantacuzino, who advocated for the establishment of the republic¹⁷. We also mention the reforms proposed by Eufrosin Poteca, who sought the establishment of income tax, free printing and employment in administrative functions. *Așezământul politicesc* was also important, being signed by Simion Marcovici, who pleaded for state organization based on the separation of powers.

However, as a historical phenomenon, modernity in its multi-plan form began in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Principalities after the Treaty of Adrianople, which caused Turkey to lose its monopoly on the trade in the Romanian Principalities and to open the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to all commercial vessels, thus liberalizing trade in grain, livestock and timber. Moreover, British economic interests began to play a decisive role in the revival of the Romanian nation. England in search of new markets and resources, particularly interested in the Romanian wheat, reached up to the mouth of the Danube, where it hit Turkish monopoly on the trade with the Principalities. In order to remove this obstacle, England encouraged and supported Russia to declare war to Turkey, a conflict which it would eventually win¹⁸.

This treaty was an important milestone in the history of the Principalities because it inaugurated the era of commercial capitalism in the two Romanian countries. As a result, the Treaty of Adrianople was the generator of modernization/Westernization in the Principalities. It paved the way for foreign capital, it contributed to the creation of a bourgeoisie, which gradually changed from an allogeneic into a local one. Moreover, England’s commercial interests at the source of the Danube caused considerable increase in Romanian wheat prices and in commercial business in the area. In their turn, French trading companies would send their vessels to the ports of Wallachia¹⁹.

All these reform projects inspired *Regulamentele Organice*, “the embryo of a Western type of legislation”²⁰, the first constitutional acts imposed by Russia in the Romanian Principalities via the protectorate. We have here a new indirect Westernization, even in a smaller percentage due to Russia. They established the state on modern principles (sovereignty, separation of powers) and introduced

exercised by the ruler together with the Community Council. The administrative and executive powers are exercised by the ruler alone”.

¹⁷ Dan Berindei, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁸ Constantin Ardeleanu, „Marea Britanie și încercările de instituire și de permanentizare a Comisiei europene a Dunării (1855-1858)”, in *Analele Universității Dunărea de Jos Galați*, fascicula Istorie, 2005, p. 115.

¹⁹ Ștefan Zeletin, *Burghezia română. Originea și rolul ei istoric*, Ediția a II-a, notă bibliografică de C. D. Zeletin, București, Editura Humanitas, 1991, passim; Bogdan Murgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁰ Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie...* p. 165.

modern institutions (courts, lawyers, prosecutors, notaries and archives). The meaning of “state institution” began to be deciphered by the representatives of the Romanian political elite. Here, for example, when writing a memorandum in 1832 on the implementation of *Regulamentul Organic* in Moldavia: “*Good institutions are the cornerstone of the existence of a State; they are the indispensable condition of its progressive path towards civilization and towards a future of prosperity*”²¹.

Amid the strengthening of “partida națională” (the national party) Ion Câmpineanu, developed in 1838 two documents on the organization of Wallachia. The first was called *Actul de unire și independență* and demanded the removal of the Ottoman suzerainty and Russian protectorate, the Principalities’ union in a kingdom of Dacia and choosing a hereditary prince. The second document was a draft of a constitution, *Osăbitul act de numire a suveranului românilor*. It is to be mentioned that Ion Câmpineanu asked for Western support to implement these requirements and counted on the Western Courts.

“*Europe’s rays of light – wrote Florian Aaron the same year – awoke the national and patriotic feeling, which began to produce its fruitful results*”²².

The majority of these claims were present in the modern programs of the revolution of 1848. The 1848 moment marked the collective mind and expressed Romanians’ option for the “Western model”. Through the proclamations in 1848 (*Petițiunea proclamațiune, Petiția națională, Prințiile noastre pentru reformarea patriei, Dorințele Partidei Naționale din Moldova, Proiect de Constituție pentru Moldova, Proclamația de la Izlaz*), Romanians openly stated their desire to join the modern European nations. The view on the state and its institutions, on the citizen’s rights and freedoms contained in the documents are present in the aforementioned documents, which proves the reception of Western ideas.

Vasile Alecsandri, in an article published in *România literară*, considered that the local press was meant to “proclaim daily the rights of Principalities acknowledged today by most of Europe”²³. It was, moreover, the mission of the entire 1848 generation: to promote the rights of the Principalities in Europe which knew little about us, but which could have known more through the exemplary mobilizing of the local political and cultural factors²⁴. The pro-West determination of this generation can be easily seen in the record of Alecu Russo, who was convinced that “*from 1835 to 1855, that is, for 20 years, Moldavia lived*

²¹ Vlad Georgescu, *Mémoires et projets de réforme dans les Principautés Roumaines. 1831-1848. Répertoire et textes*, Întreprinderea Poligrafică Sibiu, București, 1972, p. 37.

²² Arune Pumnul, *Lepturariu românesc*, vol. IV, Viena, 1862, p. 54.

²³ Cornelia Bodea, „Vasile Alecsandri, cititor de seamă al României moderne”, in *Studii*, 1971, nr. 6, p. 68.

²⁴ Anton Caragea, *Epoca renașterii naționale, 1750-1778*, Editura Universității din București, 2004, p. 159.

more than in the last two centuries [...] the parents' eyes and thoughts headed East, our eyes are heading West"²⁵.

The Revolution of 1848 bequeathed a genuine program of modernization of the Romanian space and the idea of the nation as a whole²⁶.

Neagu Djuvara argues in his book, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne*, that the French model had an overwhelming influence throughout Europe, but nowhere was deeper and longer lasting than in the Romanian Principalities. During this period, morals, thinking, language, institutions suffered the influence of the model in the hexagon.

Romanian students were first recorded in Paris in 1800. Together with the newspapers and fashion journals, they brought modern elements to the Principalities. Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century was a cultural and political training centre for young Romanians. Moreover, here it was accomplished the welding between young men from Moldavia and Wallachia²⁷.

French newspapers were read feverishly despite very expensive subscription. Gradually reading offices were opened in Iași and Bucharest, where both Romanian newspapers and periodicals from various European centres could be found.

In turn, French literature was translated by enlightened boyars. Books circulated, usually in manuscripts. Public libraries appeared around bookstores. For example, in 1830, in Iași, out of the four libraries, three were selling only books in French. However it must be mentioned that only 8% of the population, which included the boyar elite and those of the third state, had such a bibliophile and cultural concerns. Theatre could not miss from this list. It proposes the art loving public numerous pieces with topics taken from the French works²⁸.

Travellers and foreign consuls were impressed by the Gallicism of the Moldavian-Wallachian high society. Students, especially those who came back from France, were conquered, regardless of their ancestry by the democratic ideas to the point that they were accused by those loyal to Metternich's system that "*they aim to introduce French customs and practices in the Principalities*".

Within a few decades, and after a short period of exploration of the Russian protectorate resistance (1829-1840), the Greek language was replaced by French, the caftan and the Turkish trousers were replaced by German clothing. The new outfit, involving trousers with cuff, jacket, hat and boots, being much lighter, allowed the elite to be more mobile and dynamic. To this unexpected status also contributed the cigarette case and the cigarette, which released the

²⁵ Alecu Russo, *Scrieri alese*, Editura Geo Șerban, București, 1859, p. 37.

²⁶ Dan Berindei, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 136, 141, 126; Idem, *Cultura națională română modernă*, Editura Eminescu, București, 1986, p. 42.

²⁸ Daniel Barbu, *Bizanț contra Bizanț*, Editura Nemira, București, 2001, p. 61.

Romanian boyar from the chains and stillness of the hookah. Nicotine, coffee, competition and commercial businesses have much diminished the lassitude of the siesta, so the Romanian saying, circulating at the time “fie domnul cât de mic, după masă doarme-un pic” (any boyar, however small, takes a nap after lunch) lost some ground to trade and intellectual dynamism. In addition, as a result of the information flow in the cultural landscape of the era appeared the intellectual debate, which, in its turn, boosted the need for information and change.

This was the crucial historical impulse that awakened the Principalities and helped them make leaps towards modernity. In most of the specialized literature it is stated that, within two generations, the Principalities passed from the Oriental-Byzantine model to the European one, which – according to the same Neagu Djuvara – “*was adopted with passion and sometimes even with excessive haste*”²⁹. In other words, in that century a true “*revolution in morals and mentality*” occurred.

Edgar Quinet rightfully reminded Westerners that “*Eight million people, begging, are knocking on the door of our Western society. What do they want? They are asking to be helped to revive; they are claiming our alliance ... Something different, really, in our modern world, because they claim not to help them, as always, only in the name of justice, of the interests of all ... No; the novelty and grandeur of their case is that they present themselves as some of our brothers*”³⁰.

Along with the French model, the Belgian and Italian models are also imposed into the Romanian political consciousness. Here is what Archimandrite Iosafat wrote in August 1856: „*Belgium, the Netherlands, Piedmont ... although they do not have the population, nor the geographic location, or wealth of our country, however they are more flowery and more advanced than us. And what could stop us from being like one of those*”³¹.

After the Crimean War, through the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856, the Romanian Principalities have come under the collective guarantee of the 7 European Great Powers. In this context, the unification of the Principalities will be accomplished by the double election of Ioan Cuza in 1859. He focused on two main objectives: on the one hand to strengthen the union and to achieve its international recognition, and on the other, to internally adopt a series of measures meant to modernize the country. This modernization implied the dissolution of discrepancies in what concerned the internal organization of the two countries, Moldavia and Wallachia, but also the United Principalities’

²⁹ Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2002, p. 7.

³⁰ Edgar Quinet, *Opere alese*, vol. II, Ediția de Angela Cismaș, Editura, Minerva, București, 1983, p. 293.

³¹ *Steaua Dunării*, nr. 54 din 4 august 1856.

vicinity to the Western world and their exit from the influence of the Eastern world. In the memorandum from 1860, Cuza said that he wanted the complete unification of the two countries “with Europe’s consent and within order and legality”³².

It followed, through the known reforms and not without internal and external difficulties, a European alignment of the Principalities, the line of the European modernization projects being pursued by Carol I, a foreign prince from a European royal house, as requested in the ad-hoc meetings, convened by almost a decade ago. The German Prince knew, in turn, to exploit a new favourable European context in which he managed to gain Romania’s independence and proclaimed Romania as kingdom³³.

The gradual institutionalization of a modern parliamentary system in 1866, based on periodic elections, precipitated the emergence of modern political parties. The Liberal Party, formed in 1875, proposed a program dominated by the European vision of those times: compliance with laws and constitutional system, defence of personal freedom, the organization of education, it supported private initiative, reducing the tax burden and public expenditure, urbanization and industrialization by imitating the West. The Liberals always started from what could have been possible, often passing over the immediate³⁴. In turn, in 1880, the Conservatives joined in a party. They also pursued the same modern European trajectory for Romania, but appealing to a different kind of vision. Conservative program proposed reforms in the administrative sector that would gain more autonomy from the political factor, measures to assist the craftsmen, they promoted the idea of an organic development without a deep rupture with the past, free of revolutionary gaps, they did not have the intention to transform the world, as the liberals seemed to be wanting, but they started from the singular, particular fact, which they wanted to improve not to change. The Conservatives returned to pastoral roots, extolling the ancestral social structures and the oral culture of the Romanians³⁵.

The emergence of the two modern political parties, whose ideology rooted in the French Revolution forced the Romanian intellectuals and politicians to be responsible for the direction Romania had to follow in the development process³⁶.

What characterized the Romanians in the era between the end of the Crimean War and the overthrow of Cuza, continued with the independence and

³² Dan Berindei, *op. cit.*, p. 221-222.

³³ Alin Ciupală, *Istoria modernă a românilor. Organizarea statului și a sistemului instituțional*, Editura Tritonic, București, 2009, p. 30-35.

³⁴ Dragoș Paul Aligică, *Liberalismul economic*, in *Doctrine politice. Concepte universale și realități românești*, coordonator Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1998, p. 55.

³⁵ Ion Bulei, *Conservatorismul românesc*, in *Doctrine politice. Concepte universale și realități românești*, coordonator Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1998, p. 87.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

the proclamation of the kingdom, was the breaking of a tight circle they had been trapped in, breaking the old political and mentality patterns and the access to the European projects in order to build a modern Romania³⁷.

Has the Europeanization/Westernization been a profound or a formal modernization? Did it happened only at a minority level - being supported by official political discourse and media – or was it a modernization of Romanian mentality, national culture, public behaviour and everyday lifestyle?

At the level of mentality, modernity began in the Romanian space around 1821-1848 and, practically, at 1859-1866. During this period, Romania has experienced modernization for the first time.

We believe, therefore, that the Romanian territory has experienced some elements of modernity. The problem relies in the non-penetration of these elements in all Romanian society structures. Moreover, the Junimist theory of the “forms without substance” countered the value and influence of the Western values, which affected only the surface layer of the Romanian society³⁸. As a result, modernity did not become a “modus vivendi” for each individual or each institution or social group. The consequences were changes that occurred only in certain social layers, being supported and promoted by those groups concerned only with their social and economic condition.

Secondly, the Romanian state had given priority to the national construction; the economic issues and social development were postponed and subordinated to the national issue. Moreover, historians talk about a real “obsession” for the national issue when it comes to modern Romanian history and especially to the nineteenth century³⁹. As a result, we can talk in the Romanian space, about genuine modernization projects that have directly influenced some of the elite. Going down to the bottom of the social pyramid, we find only interpretations of modernity, through concepts and visions taken from the Western thinking. It is an attempt to adapt the Western messages to the conditions of the East, avoiding a sudden separation from the traditional elements.

Therefore, the Romanian modernization, which was an amalgamation of Enlightenment and Romantic ideas due to our “conviction” to a continual process of “burning” the gap stages, was more related to the elites and less to the mass of the population.

Returning to the elite of the Principalities, we cannot talk about unity in this segment either. The absence of the social contract, the lack of a mature

³⁷ Leonid Boicu, *România în relațiile internaționale 1699-1939*, Iași, 1980, p. 144; ****Românii la 1859. Unirea principatelor în conștiința europeană. Documente externe*, vol. II, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984, pp. 39-41.

³⁸ Adrian Marino, *Pentru Europa*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1995, pp. 52-53.

³⁹ Bogdan Murgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

bourgeoisie able to understand correctly, for example, the intricate machinery of political life as it resulted from the democratic Constitution of 1866, the absence of alternative political and economic options, setting the existence according to the traditions of the community and not by individual choices, delayed the mass modernization of the elite and the European integration of the Romanian society. It is true that Romanian intellectuals and politicians who had studied in the West returned in the country with modern programs, generous ideas and valuable technical inventions. Sometimes they translated into reality the Western technologies, built bridges, railways, roads, banks and schools, so they invested in modern goods. Some forms were perfectly assimilated, others only partially, leading to the emergence of hybrids and mutants. Others did not “suit” at all the local realities, and repercussions are even nowadays seen everywhere. It is true that very often they stuck to imitating a world of values substantially different from the ones of South-Eastern Europe. Subsequently, perpetuating medieval elements in administration and the superficial assimilation of the Western cultural patterns led to tensions within society⁴⁰. Moreover, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries we can talk about a true “crisis” of the European consciousness in the Romanian space. The aspiration of travelling “to the civilized world”, as it was called at the time, was composed of a mixture of feelings and attitudes: admiration, inferiority complex, rebellion, jealousy, ideal, integration, desire for improvement, regeneration and rehabilitation⁴¹.

Some historians have defined the majority of projects aimed to modernize the Romanian space as “order consolidations” and not reforms in the true sense of the word. We do not agree with this theory. The argument invoked is based on the fact that in our action of “burning of the gap stages” we were tributary to the acceleration principle, lacking the ability to effectively complete an undertaken project. Therefore, we consider that argument irrelevant, since the very modernity as a process has this default of never completing a started project, being obliged to continually adapt to novelty. Consequently, we believe that in the Romanian space reforms were implemented through actions that mime the Western messages, but also decode them in a key applicable to South-Eastern realities. Their success or failure were due to several factors; we only mention the one related to the quality of the morals and professionalism of the politician summoned to implement them as well as the regional and international geopolitical context⁴².

In this context, we believe that a reassessment of the peculiarities of Romania is entitled, respectively, its cultural and political identity. The modern

⁴⁰ Victor Neumann, „Elitele și problema modernizării României”, in *Viața Românească*, nr. 8-9, 2009, pp. 11-19.

⁴¹ Adrian Marino, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁴² Ion Bulei, *op. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 90.

Romanian state-building process in an area of interference must be analyzed by taking into account the diversity of the region and the amalgamation of cultural and civilization values in the area, reasons why examining the modernization of the Romanian space and redefining cultural paradigm requires not only a knowledge of the political, geographical and spiritual details, but also revealing, in time, the impact of the set of values that have formed distinctive marks of the individual and the community.

In such a context of mobility, amalgamations and intellectual orientations, there were many ruptures from the medieval lifestyle. We provide one example. Florian Aaron established the Romanian school from Golești and he also wrote a three volume history of Wallachia (1836-1839); Gheorghe Lazăr transformed the St. Sava School from a Greek one into a Romanian one. In fact, the founder of the Romanian education was also the initiator of sending the first Romanian scholars to Pisa and later to Paris⁴³.

The conclusion we draw is that the modernization of the Romanian space in the mentioned period was an act of adaptation and survival of the national elite and of the goals pursued by it to the given geopolitical realities.

In the light of the current realities, it might be better to reassess, in a responsible way, the words of historian Jules Michelet, who urged the Romanian people: “Be yourselves, do not imitate anyone. You have under your feet the springs of the water of life. Do not envy grand nations, but look at your own. The deeper you dig, the more you see life springing”⁴⁴.

⁴³ Anton Caragea, *Epoca renașterii naționale, 1750-1778*, Editura Universității din București, 2004, p. 103.

⁴⁴ Iulian Boldea, *Dicționar de vorbe esențiale*, București, 2012, p. 180.

L'OPERA ITALIANA TRA LE SELVE DEI CARPAZI: LA TRADUZIONE DI HELIADE RĂDULESCU DELLA *NORMA* DI FELICE ROMANI

Federico DONATIELLO*

Abstract. *In the 1830s, at the time of the first opera seasons in the Romanian Principalities, the Italian libretti started to be translated into Romanian. Some of these translations were made by important personalities such as Ion Heliade Rădulescu and Gheorghe Asachi. Both poets translated Felice Romani's libretto Norma put to music by Vincenzo Bellini. The presence of romantic atmospheres into a classical subject fascinated Heliade Rădulescu, whose translation was quite important in his project of approaching the Romanian and Italian literary language. The stylistic raising of the language thanks to the use of neologisms and to the development of the rhetoric devices is the first step of a translation which had to bring the language and the Romanian literature from its "periphery" to the centre of the great European tradition.*

Keywords: *Heliade Rădulescu, Romanian 19th century translations, Italian opera, Norma.*

All'interno del vastissimo fenomeno delle traduzioni letterarie realizzate nei Principati romeni tra la fine del Settecento e la prima metà dell'Ottocento, un capitolo di non secondaria importanza è quello rappresentato dalle traduzioni di opere teatrali, soprattutto francesi e italiane. In particolare, il nostro intervento si concentra sui libretti d'opera italiani, che, a partire dal terzo decennio dell'Ottocento, iniziano ad essere tradotti direttamente dai testi originali e non più, come accadeva precedentemente, sulla base di intermediari neogreci.¹ Il

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¹ Si fa riferimento a un gruppo di otto melodrammi metastasiani tradotti tra il 1780 e il 1800 principalmente da Iordache Slătineanu e Alexandru Beldiman attraverso versioni neogreche; tali traduzioni sono in prosa e non hanno come finalità la rappresentazione scenica. A queste si aggiunge la traduzione parziale in versi del *Temistocle* ad opera di Ion Budai-Deleanu (condotta, tuttavia, direttamente sull'originale italiano), la cui edizione critica è contenuta in I. Budai-Deleanu, *Opere*. Ediție îngrijită, cronologie, note și comentarii, glosar și repere critice de Gheorghe Chivu și Eugen Pavel. Studiu introductiv de Eugen Simion, Academia Română.

fenomeno acquista notevole importanza se si tiene conto del fatto che alcune di queste versioni sono state eseguite da personalità importanti della realtà culturale e letteraria di quel periodo quali Ion Heliade Rădulescu e Gheorghe Asachi, che saranno anche i fondatori delle prime istituzioni teatrali e musicali nei Principati. A Bucarest, presso *Societatea Filarmonică*, creata nel 1833 da Heliade, viene organizzata a partire dal 15 gennaio 1834, accanto alla scuola di recitazione per le rappresentazioni in prosa, una classe di musica vocale. Qualche anno più tardi, a Iași, viene fondato *Conservatorul filo-dramatic* (1836-1838), grazie agli sforzi di Asachi. La prima opera cantata in romeno di cui viene registrata con certezza la presenza è una *Semiramide* di Rossini rappresentata a Bucarest nel 1836 dagli allievi della sezione musicale di *Societatea filarmonică*.²

Pur non esistendo ancora una vera e propria *recensio* delle traduzioni di libretti d'opera italiani, né per il periodo di nostro interesse né per le epoche più recenti, emerge per la sua particolare eccezionalità la presenza di una doppia versione romena della *Norma*, la celebre 'tragedia lirica' di Felice Romani, musicata da Vincenzo Bellini e tradotta in romeno sia da Asachi che da Heliade Rădulescu. In questa occasione mi occuperò, nello specifico, della traduzione heliadiana, il cui testo è stato stabilito criticamente da Vladimir Drimba nella sua edizione delle opere del poeta.³

Fundația Națională pentru știință și Artă, București, 2011, pp. 1063-74 (note a pp. 1209-11). Sulle traduzioni metastasiane in Romania cfr. R. Ortiz, «Per la storia della cultura italiana in Rumania», in *Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Europa orientale*. 1. ser., Letteratura, arte, filosofia ; vol. 32, Roma, Istituto per l'Europa orientale, 1943. [già pubblicato a Bucarest nel 1916]; Al. Ciorănescu, *Teatrul lui Metastasio în România*, in «*Studii italiene*», I, București, 1934.; più recente, e circoscritto alle sole traduzioni di Iordache Slătineanu, il saggio di E. Dima, *Traduceri necunoscute ale lui Iordache Slatineanu din teatrul lui Metastasio*, in „Anuar de lingvistică și istorie literară” tom. XVIII, 1981-82, pp. 121-27.

² La notizia è riportata in Elena Grigoriu, *Zorii teatrului cult în Țara Românească*, Albatros, București, 1983, p. 65: «Deși la început de drum, în anul următor [1836, n. d. C.], temerarii elevi și profesori ai secției de muzică au îndrăznit să prezinte în fața “privitorilor” bucureșteni primul spectacol de operă în limba română cu opera *Semiramida* de Rossini. Era un act de mare curaj, dat fiind faptul că trupe germane și franceze, cu multă experiență, evoluau atunci pe scena românească. [...] Premiera a avut loc în iunie 1836; spectacolul a fost reluat în octombrie 1836». Vedi anche Dimitrie C. Ollănescu, *Teatrul la români*, Editura Eminescu, 1981, București, p. 151. Per quanto riguarda la prima stagione operistica organizzata a Bucarest a partire dal dicembre 1833 grazie agli sforzi di Heliade Rădulescu e della sua cerchia, si confronti il lungo elenco di opere rappresentate nel solo 1834 riportato *Ibidem*, p. 124. Tra le opere italiane si segnalano: *Tancredi*, *La Cenerentola*, *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Otello*, *Armida* e *Semiramide* di Rossini (insieme a *Le Comte Ory*), *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* e *La Straniera* di Bellini, *Gianni di Parigi* di Donizetti e *Il Crociato in Egitto* di Meyerbeer (opera del periodo italiano del compositore).

³ Ion Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere. Vol IV. Traduceri: teatru*. Ediție critică de Vladimir Drimba, Editura Minerva, 1985, București, pp. 433-76. Non c'è tuttora, a quanto ci risulta, un'edizione critica moderna della *Norma* di Asachi. La prima edizione a stampa della traduzione di Asachi risale al 1838: *Norma*. Tragedie lirică compusă de F. Romani, iar muzica de prelăudatul V. Belini. Tradusă de A[ga] G. Asachi. Reprezentată întâia oară la Iași, 20 fevr. 1838, de Elevii

Norma venne rappresentata il 26 dicembre 1831 alla Scala di Milano rivelandosi uno dei più clamorosi fiaschi nella storia dell'opera italiana. Il soggetto dell'opera si collegava idealmente a una tradizione di *matière antique* piuttosto diffusa in epoca rivoluzionaria, che aveva trovato i propri capolavori nella *Médée* di Cherubini (Parigi, 1797) e ne *La Vestale* di Spontini (Parigi, 1807). L'opera belliniana aggiorna questo filone 'tragico' esaltando il particolare amalgama tra classicismo e romanticismo presente nel libretto di Felice Romani, poeta moderatamente romantico e fautore di intelligenti aperture verso le nuove mode d'Oltralpe. Il soggetto deriva da una tragedia di Soumet, *Norma ou l'infanticide*, rappresentata proprio nell'estate del 1831 a Parigi, ma anche da materiale tematico di un libretto precedente di Felice Romani, *La sacerdotessa d'Irminsul* (Trieste, 1820, musica di Giovanni Pacini), sempre di ambientazione sicambra. Una realtà come quella gallica offriva un'ottima conciliazione tra un'ambientazione storica non particolarmente amata presso il melodramma romantico italiano quale l'antichità greco-romana e la necessità tutta romantica di 'colore locale', che in questo caso avrebbe guardato ad atmosfere di ascendenza ossianica. Le ragioni del fiasco dell'opera vanno individuate probabilmente nella complessità delle scelte drammaturgiche. L'assenza di pezzi forti come il finale concertato del primo atto (vero obbligo ereditato dall'opera rossiniana e sostituito da un terzetto tra i tre protagonisti), l'atmosfera ricercatamente notturna, la coerenza tragica, che mette da parte la vivacità musicale a favore dell'uniformità solenne e ieratica, dovettero infastidire un pubblico abitudinario e spesso dai gusti facili. Inoltre, la ricercatezza drammaturgica doveva richiamare quella riforma gluckiana che, ricercando coerenza tra parole e musica, sacrificava in parte il virtuosismo canoro in favore di un'ideale di classica compostezza.

Conservatorului Filarmonic. Eșii, La Institutul Albinei, 1838 (Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere cit.*, p. 685); ne esistono altre due più recenti, con la traduzione soltanto delle arie, la prima in caratteri cirillici (*Norma*, operă lirică în 4 acte. Muzica prelaudatului Belini. Iașii. Tipografia: Inst. Albinii, 1851), la seconda in caratteri latini (*Norma*, operă lirică în 4 acte. Musica prelaudatului Belini. Tradusă din limba Italiană în Românește de Gheorghe Asaki și sub Direcțiunea sa representat (sic!) această operă pentru prima oară în Iași în limba română la 1838 de elevii Conservatorului Filarmonicii, Jassy, Tipografia H. Goldner, 1873). In *Istoria teatrului în România. Vol. I: De la începuturi până la 1848*, redactor responsabil: Simion Alterescu, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1965, p. 173 troviamo un riferimento alla rappresentazione di *Norma* a Iași: «Printre evenimentele cele mai remarcabile ale acestor ani se citează primul spectacol de operă cântat în limba română, la 20 februarie 1838, semn că elevii progresează uimitor nu numai în declamație, dar și în studiul muzicii vocale. Se cântă pretențioasă operă *Norma* de Bellini, de către elevii Conservatorului [...]». Un breve studio relativo alle due traduzioni è quello di Gabriela Dima, *Le due versioni rumene ottocentesche della Norma di Felice Romani*, in *Un secol de italianistică la București III, Actele colocviului centenar* (București, 20-21 noiembrie 2009), coordonatori Doina Condrea Derer și Hanibal Stănciulescu, Editura Universității din București, 2011, p. 351-361.

Nonostante l'esordio sfortunato *Norma* si diffonde rapidamente in tutta Europa. Per quanto riguarda i Principati romeni abbiamo notizia di una sua rappresentazione a Iași il 20 febbraio 1838, tradotta in romeno da Gheorghe Asachi e prontamente stampata. L'opera approda sicuramente a Bucarest il 6 dicembre 1842, come riferisce il numero di *Curierul românesc* dell'11 dicembre: non sappiamo tuttavia in che lingua fosse cantata.⁴ Nell'ottobre 1843 viene pubblicata la traduzione di Heliade Rădulescu presso *Tipografia lui Eliad*, in concomitanza con nuove rappresentazioni a Bucarest (testimoniate da un buon numero di articoli sempre in *Curierul românesc*): la traduzione si inseriva in un ambizioso programma di riduzioni di libretti d'opera che avrebbe dovuto seguire il cartellone delle rappresentazioni.⁶

Heliade Rădulescu antepone al testo una *Prefazione*⁷ di particolare interesse, nella quale vengono spiegate le caratteristiche tecniche della sua traduzione. A questa viene inoltre allegato un *Vocabular de vorbele ce se par nouă sau străine în această operă*,⁸ in cui sono glossati i neologismi presenti nella traduzione, una pratica particolarmente diffusa all'epoca e non esclusiva di Heliade⁹. Nella *Prefazione* vengono affrontate due questioni di particolare importanza stilistica e linguistica: il rapporto tra parole e musica e l'uso dei neologismi di origine italiana, o generalmente latino-romanza, presenti nel testo.

Dopo aver offerto al lettore le coordinate storiche entro cui inserire la vicenda narrata nel libretto, Heliade Rădulescu indica immediatamente quali sono gli obbiettivi della propria traduzione:

Speranța că vom putea vreodată avea și un teatru național a făcut pe traducător a da o traducție care să se poată cânta pe muzica lui Bellini. Nevoia de a păzi în versuri aceeași măsură, și cât se va putea aceeași vorbă în același vers și mai la același loc, ca să se poată cânta cu însuși notele ce exprimă ritmul și idea

⁴ Cfr. Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere cit.*, p. 686, n. 1.

⁵ Cfr. *Ibidem*, p. 686.

⁶ Cfr. la lista riportata da Drimba, *Ibidem*, p. 686.

⁷ Questa prefazione viene riportata in *Appendice* da Drimba in Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere cit.*, pp. 687-92.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 695-704.

⁹ Cfr. B. Cazacu, *Probleme ale studierii lexicului în Studii de istoria limbii române literare. Secolul al XIX-lea*. Vol. 1, Editura pentru literatură, 1969, București, p. 73: «Urmărind pătrunderea cuvintelor noi în limba literară a epocii, putem distinge diverse aspecte: într-o fază inițială, scriitorii conștienți de faptul că utilizează unii termeni noi, care poate nu sunt înțeleși de masa publicului cititor, recurg la procedeul glosării acestora și îi explică în context, printr-o perifrază, prin menționarea cuvântului sinonim din fondul tradițional al limbii, sau printr-o notă la subsolul paginii. Glosarea termenilor este un procedeu destul de frecvent în primele decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea, fiind folosit nu numai în creațiile beletristice, ci și în lucrările științifice, administrative, precum și în presa vremii. Când numărul neologismelor crește, unii scriitori se simt obligați să întocmească, la sfârșitul operelor lor, glosare în care lămuresc termenii noi».

vorbelor italiene, a sforțat pe traducător a se apropia cât se va putea mai mult de original și a primi multe vorbe necunoscute până acum în literatura română. Pentru dânsule a dat la sfârșitul cărții un vocabular, și altul iar pentru vorbele italiene ce nu s-au tradus în pășirea cadentată a versurilor.¹⁰

L'alta presenza di neologismi è dovuta alla necessità di avvicinare il più possibile la lingua della traduzione a quella dell'originale, con lo scopo di mantenere la stretta corrispondenza tra parole e musica. Il traduttore è tuttavia conscio del fatto che l'alta presenza di un lessico neologicorendanecessario un corredo esplicativo, sotto forma di glossario, che spieghi, appunto, i neologismi introdotti.

In relazione alle proprie scelte linguistiche fuori dalla norma Heliade Rădulescu mostra una presa di posizione netta contro le probabili obiezioni di coloro che chiama *iprețioși*, vale a dire i puristi della lingua;

S-ar fi putut traduce *Norma*, cum și celelalte opere următoare, într-o limbă mai înțeleasă și pe niște versuri mai rimare; atunci însă ar fi mijlocit o abatere oarecare mai mult și mai puțin din drumul ce și l-a tras traducătorul, și schimbarea vorbelor analoge, cum și locul lor, strămutarea versurilor, ar fi adus nevoia de a se compune altă muzică într-adins potrivită pe traducția sau compoziția română. Traducătorul n-au avut înainte nici lauda cititorilor, nici critica prețioșilor. Înlesnirea celor ce vor studia limba italiană, înlesnirea celor dântâi actori români ce vor cânta pe *Norma* în scena română, apropierea dialectului român cu cel cultivat italian, formarea cu vreme a unei limbe din mai multe dialecte române, între care intră și cel italian, a fost tot cugetul traducătorului.¹¹

Il pensiero di Heliade è estremamente chiaro: concepire una traduzione dell'opera di Bellini in una lingua maggiormente comprensibile (ovvero priva di neologismi) e caratterizzata da un maggiore rispetto degli istituti poetici, quali l'uso delle rime, avrebbe reso necessaria la composizione di nuova musica. Conformemente alle proprie idee linguistiche italianizzanti, Heliade considera più che naturale l'operazione di avvicinamento della lingua romena a quella italiana: le due lingue sono, nella sua prospettiva, due dialetti strettamente imparentati.

La traduzione di un testo destinato al canto presenta, inoltre, ulteriori problemi tecnici:

O traducție, spre exemplu, în versuri e sforțată adesea la schimbare, la adaos, la împuținare de vorbe, la strămutarea locului lor respectiv din ceea ce se află în original, la adaos, la lungime de versuri, la schimbarea măsurii adesea, și însuși la mutarea versurilor. Când însă originalul este pus pe muzică, traducătorul are alte hotare, mai strimte, peste care nu poate să sări; de la el atunci se cere nu

¹⁰ Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere cit.*, p. 688.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 688.

numai înțelesul, și limba, ci și măsura și însuși locul vorbelor pentru care s-au compus cutare sau cutare fras muzical ce exprimă vorba întonată¹².

Un testo destinato al canto ha vincoli ben più stretti («hotare mai strimte») rispetto a qualsiasi altro genere letterario: per questo motivo deve essere mantenuto il più possibile aderente all'originale. Con l'intenzione di offrire una dimostrazione della maggiore efficacia del proprio metodo, Heliade riporta un esempio tratto dal *Barbiere di Siviglia*. Viene scelto il famoso verso «come un colpo di cannone», contenuto nell'aria di Don Basilio *La calunnia è un venticello*:

Câți cunosc, spre exemplu, opera *Bărbierul din Sevilla* și aduc aminte de aria lui don Basilio, *Calomnia*; acolo este un vers:

Come-un colpo di cannone

Muzica aci exprimă explozia sau pocnetul tunului, și versul acesta, cântându-se, se face:
Come-n colpo di cano o o o o ... ne

[...] Nu că doară traducția acestui vers n-ar fi oarecum înnemerită când ar fi hotărâtă numai pentru citit, și când s-ar face astfel:

Ca răspocnetul din tun

Sau

Știi, ca pocnetul din tun

Atunci ar trebui un alt Bellini [sic] la asemenea versuri să întocmească alte note; [...] nefiind însă această împregiurare, și afându-se notele muziceii fixate pentru fiecare silabă, traducătorul este sforțat a-și apropia și mai mult versul de cel italian, ca, cântându-se după aceeași muzică, să nu facă din bietul don Basilio și un lup extraordinariu; și va traduce în chipul următor:

Ca un pocnet din canon.

Atunci însă strigă prețioșii că canonul se zice *tun* pe românie, că vorba *tun* e destul de imitativă, și altele asemenea. Și eu știu că așa se zice și că vorba este imitativă, pentru că am apucat mai nainte de a o zice, fără să mi-o aducă nimeni aminte; însă sunt greutățile espuse mai sus de care domnii aceștia se feresc cu mare îngrijire, pentru că nu vor să puie mâna pe pană și pieptul pe masă; căci atunci, vrând-nevrând, ar da peste aceleași greutăți pe care tot asemenea le-ar învoi, și poate și mai bine.¹³

Le traduzioni «ca răspocnetul din tun» o «știi, ca pocnetul din tun» contengono la parola *tun*, perfettamente 'romena' ma, secondo Heliade,

¹²*Ibidem*, p. 689.

¹³*Ibidem*, pp. 689-90.

inadatta al mantenimento dell'intonazione musicale dell'opera rossiniana (oltre a essere ridicola perché costringerebbe il cantante a mantenere la nota lunga sulla vocale *u* «rendendo così il povero Don Basilio un lupo straordinario»). Heliade propone, invece, il verso «ca un pocnet din canon», più fedele al dettato melodico perché direttamente proveniente dalla struttura prosodica dell'originale italiano. La parola *canon*, tuttavia, non è parola esistente in romeno (almeno non nel significato di arma da fuoco): si tratta di un neologismo proposto da Heliade, che non è mai entrato nell'uso. Come vedremo, questa tecnica viene adoperata generalmente nella traduzione della *Norma*, creando un linguaggio molto aderente al dettato del libretto di Felice Romani e, allo stesso tempo, ricco di prestiti latino-romanzi, che potremmo chiamare propriamente 'occidentalismi', spesso prelevati direttamente dal testo di partenza.

Prendiamo, ad esempio, le prime quattro scene del primo atto che, ambientate nella foresta dei druidi, descrivono i preparativi e lo svolgimento di una cerimonia religiosa 'barbarica'. La prima di queste vede, come d'abitudine, l'assenza della primadonna: musicalmente si tratta di una *Introduzione* suddivisa in un cantabile (*Ite sul colle, o druidi*) e in una cabaletta (*Dell'aura tua profetica*) per basso e coro.

Riporto qui di seguito il testo del libretto di Felice Romani e la traduzione di Heliade Rădulescu:

OROVESO

Ite sul colle, o Druidi,
ite a spar ne' cieli
quando il suo disco argenteo
la nuova Luna sveli!
Ed il primier sorriso
del virginal suo viso
tre volte annunzi il mistico
bronzo sacerdotale!

DRUIDI

Il sacro vischio a mietere
Norma verrà?

OROVESO

Sì, Norma.

DRUIDI

Dell'aura tua profetica,
terribil Dio, l'informa!
Sensi, o Irminsul, le inspira
d'odio ai Romani e d'ira,
sensi che questa infrangano
pace per noi mortal, sì!

OROVESO

Aideți pe deal, druzilor,
aideți a pândi cerul
când discul își dezvăluie
argintea luna nouă;
ș-a feței virginale
surâderea primară
trei ori vestească-o misticul
sacerdotalul bronz.

DRUIZII

Cel sacru visc să secere
veni-va Norma?

OROVESO

Norma.

DRUIZII

Cu aura-ți profetică,
teribil Zeu, învaț-o,
o, Irminsul, însufl-o
c-urgie, ură Romei,
cu ură să derapene
a pace, cobe rea.

OROVESO

Sì. Parlerà terribile
da queste quercie antiche,
sgombre farà le Gallie
dall'aquile nemiche,
edel suo scudo il suono,
pari al fragor del tuono,
nella città dei Cesari
tremendo echeggerà!

OROVESO

Aşa: vorbind teribilă
din aşti stejări sălbatici,
va curaţi Galiile
de acvile vrăjmaşe;
ş-al scudului ei sunet
ca uietul de tunet
în scaunul cezarilor
tremând va resbumba.

OROVESO E DRUIDI

Luna, t'affretta sorgere!
Norma all'altar verrà!¹⁴

TOȚI

Răsări, lună, grăbeşte-te,
Că Norma e l-altar!¹⁵

Il riferimento a un ambito sacrale e religioso veicola un lessico fortemente caratterizzato, che doveva essere piuttosto inusuale e innovativo per l'area romena: un numero relativamente alto di parole inserite nel glossario finale provengono proprio da questa sezione e dalla scena terza consacrata interamente alla figura di Norma sacerdotessa.

Una prima osservazione di carattere formale conferma quanto premesso da Heliade nella *Prefazione*: sono assenti le rime ad eccezione della coppia *tunet: sunet* ai vv. 22-3 e della rima imperfetta ai vv. 16 e 24 (*rea: resbumba*). Dal punto di vista metrico viene rispettato l'uso del settenario dell'originale di Felice Romani e, dove possibile, la traduzione mantiene la presenza di parole sdrucchiole in fine di verso, introducendo o un neologismo che riprende direttamente il vocabolo usato nel libretto (*mistico / misticul, profetica / profetică, terribile / teribilă*) oppure una parola del lessico ereditato, sovrapponibile dal punto di vista del profilo fonico (*mietere / secere*).

Dal punto di vista lessicale possiamo notare come all'interno delle prime due quartine cantate da Oroveso siano presenti numerosi prestiti desunti direttamente dall'originale italiano. Al di là di *druid, druizi*, che può essere considerata parola 'tecnica', difficilmente traducibile altrimenti, sono evidenti alcuni neologismi quali *arginteu* («argenteo»), *virginale* («virginal»), *primar* («primiero»), *mistic, sacerdotal, bronz, sacru*. *Arginteu* più che un vero e proprio neologismo è da considerarsi una forma italianizzata dell'aggettivo romeno *argintiu* mediante la modifica del suffisso in *-eu* e l'arretramento dell'accento. Non si registra soltanto tale esempio di nobilitazione stilistica di un vocabolo già presente nel lessico ereditato romeno: possiamo riconoscere anche nella parola *visc* un'italianizzazione del sostantivo *vâsc*, forma proveniente dalla lingua popolare, come segnala, del resto, lo stesso Heliade nel suo glossario:

¹⁴ Per il testo della *Norma* utilizziamo: *Libretti d'opera italiani: dal Seicento al Novecento*, a cura di Giovanna Gronda e Paolo Fabbri, Mondadori, 1997, Milano, pp. 1235-1266.

¹⁵ Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere cit.*, pp. 435-6.

VISCU: materie lipicioasă și tare de care se prind păsările lipindu-se; un fel de vlăstar parazit pe arbori, ce în limba populară se zice vâsc.¹⁶

Venendo ai neologismi più evidenti, possiamo constatare come Heliade cerchi spesso di mantenere le medesime parole dell'originale (in alcuni casi adattandole foneticamente e morfologicamente al romeno), praticando solo alcuni lievi cambiamenti: i vv. 3-4 «quando il suo disco argenteo | la nuova luna sveli» vengono tradotti in «când discul își dezvăluie | arginteu luna nouă». Al di là del sintagma *luna nouă*, che adopera parole tradizionali, osserviamo la presenza di alcuni prestiti latino-romanzi (*discul*, *dezvăluie*, il già citato *arginteu*). Mentre il verbo *a dezvălui*, francesismo derivato da *dévoiler*, è assente dal vocabolario finale probabilmente perché già largamente in uso all'epoca, è interessante la glossa alla parola *disc*, parola effettivamente già presente in romeno ma soltanto in ambito ecclesiastico:

DISCU: un rotocol care la antichi slujea de loc, o tavă rotundă; de unde și discul soarelui, al lunei, al unei stele. Această vorbă s-a întrebuințat până acum la biserică: a ieșit cu discul (cu o tăviță rotundă).¹⁷

Si tratta di un vocabolo appartenente al lessico sacrale, quindi stilisticamente elevato, utilizzato per descrivere, seguendo il testo originale italiano, un aspetto della realtà naturale.

Nella seconda quartina è presente un'ulteriore inversione, con il genitivo che precede il nominativo: i vv. 5-6 «ed il primier sorriso | del virginal suo viso» divengono in romeno «ș-a feței virginale | surâderea primară». Anche in questo caso i neologismi sostituiscono le corrispettive parole del lessico ereditato al fine di creare un linguaggio sublime, rimpiazzando nel primo caso un vocabolo di origine slava (il sostantivo *zâmbire*) e nel secondo una parola di origine latina forse troppo connotata religiosamente o troppo popolare come *fecioară*:

SURRÂDERE: râdere pe sub buze; zâmbire cel slavonesc, care va să zică a-și arăta dinții.¹⁸

VERGINAL: lucru ce se cuvine la vergine (fecioară).¹⁹

Infine la serie di neologismi nei vv. 7-8, «misticul | sacerdotalul bronz», ricalca perfettamente (a parte un'inversione) il testo di Felice Romani. La pratica delle inversioni, individuabile in questi ultimi tre esempi, potrebbe sembrare in contrasto con quanto affermato precedentemente da Heliade nella sua *Prefazione* riguardo alla rigorosa fedeltà della traduzione di un libretto

¹⁶ Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere cit.*, p. 702; corsivo mio.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 697.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 702.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 702.

d'opera alla struttura dell'originale. Bisogna osservare, tuttavia, che gli inevitabili aggiustamenti sintattici hanno come esclusiva finalità il rispetto della prosodia mentre il materiale lessicale è sostanzialmente fedele a quello del testo di partenza.

Nella risposta del coro, troviamo oltre al già citato *visc*, italo-latinismo, anche l'aggettivo *sacru*, dal cui ambito semantico Heliade Rădulescu conia anche l'aggettivo *sacerdotal*:

SACERDOTALU: de la sacer (sacru), sacerdote (preot), sacerdotal, preoțial sau preoțesc.²⁰

Anche nella cabaletta possiamo osservare alcune riprese di un certo interesse come l'aggettivo *terribile/teribilă*, il sostantivo *aquile/acvile*, mentre l'ultimo verso, «*tremând va resbumba*», merita un approfondimento. Il gerundio *tremând* è sovrapponibile all'aggettivo *tremendo* del libretto originale. Non è ben chiaro se Heliade abbia realmente colto la differenza semantica e morfologica tra *tremendo* e *tremando* poiché nel vocabolario finale leggiamo:

TREMARE: vorba de rădăcină a lui tremurare, care este un fel de tremare diminutiv; precum în franțoeze de la *trembler* se face *trembloter*, și în italianește de la *tremare*, *tremulare*.²¹

In effetti il verbo *a tremare* non esiste in romeno moderno: Heliade Rădulescu sembra considerarlo come una forma base da cui deriverebbe il verbo di uso attuale (al diminutivo!) *a tremura*. Interessante è anche la spiegazione del procedimento di derivazione del verbo *a resbumba*:

RESBUMBARE: de la bumbare, bumbet; cum de la sunare - sunet, răsunet. Precum de la sunare se face răsunare, a suna înapoi, asemenea de la bumbare se face resbumbare sau rebumbare: a bumba sau a suna înapoi cu bumbet.²²

Si tratterebbe cioè di un calco strutturale dell'italiano *rimbombare* in analogia con il verbo *risuonare*.

La terza e la quarta scena mostrano notevoli punti di interesse per la presenza della notissima preghiera alla Luna pronunciata da Norma, *Casta diva che inargenti*. L'ingresso della druidessa è accompagnato dal tradizionale coro di entrata *Norma viene: le cinge la chioma*. Heliade Rădulescu traduce abilmente mantenendo questa volta quasi intatta la struttura rimica dell'originale (*abbcadde* diventa infatti *abbcdeec*).

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 701.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 702.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 700.

CORO GENERALE

Norma viene: le cinge la chioma
la verbena ai misteri sacrata;
in sua man come luna falcata
l'aurea falce diffonde splendor.
Ella viene: e la stella di Roma
sbigottita si copre di un velo;
Irmisul corre i campi del cielo
Qual cometa foriera d'orror.

HOR GENERAL

Norma vine, și coama-i e încinsă
de verbenă misterelor sacrată;
în mâna ei ca luna-ncovoiată
aureea coasă varsă splendori.
Ea provine, și iată steaua Romei
uimită ascuns sub vâl se abate:
a cerului câmpii Irmisul străbate
ca cometul cobe, spaimă, fiori.

Alcuni versi della traduzione si sovrappongono perfettamente all'originale italiano: si veda il v. 2 che riesce a mantenere identica la posizione degli accenti e la disposizione delle parole («de verbenă misterelor sacrată») rispetto al testo di Romani («la verbena ai misteri sacrata»). Anche in questo caso abbiamo a che fare con alcuni neologismi appartenenti all'ambito rituale-sacrale che Heliade inserisce nel vocabolario finale:

MISTERU. Taină, secret, mai cu osebire în religie.²³

SACRU: sfințit.²⁴

VERBENĂ. Plantă mirositoare pe care cei antichi o întrebuințau în ceremoniile religioase sau descântece magice.²⁵

Non mancano versi che mescolano neologismi con elementi di lingua tradizionale: si veda, ad esempio, il sintagma «aureea coasă» dove all'aggettivo 'moderno' *aureeu* si associa lo slavismo popolare *coasă*, oppure il sintagma «varsă splendori», dove il comunissimo *a vărsa* si accompagna al francesismo neologico *splendori*. Molto interessante è la traduzione della similitudine contenuta alla fine del coro, «Irmisul corre i campi del cielo | qual cometa foriera d'orror» (vv. 7-8), dove la grammatica e la struttura sintattica vengono stravolte con la leggera deviazione di significato del verbo *a străbate* rispetto al (*per*)*correre* originale del testo italiano e l'inserimento di un efficace *tricolon* («cobe, spaimă, fiori») di parole provenienti dal fondo ereditato, che convivono accanto ad un neologismo scientifico quale *comet*. Anche in questo caso Heliade cerca di mantenersi fedele a un principio di sovrapponibilità del materiale lessicale, come è evidenziato dalle sottolineature:

Norma viene: le cinge la chioma
la verbena ai misteri sacrata;
in sua man come luna falcata

Norma vine, și coama-i e încinsă
de verbenă misterelor sacrată;
în mâna ei ca luna-ncovoiată

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 699.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 701.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 703.

l'aurea falce diffonde splendor.
Ella viene: e la stella di Roma
sbigottita si copre di un velo;
Irminsul corre i campi del cielo
Qual cometa foriera d'orror.

aureea coasă varsă splendori.
Ea provine, și iată steaua Romei
uimită ascuns sub vâl se abate:
a cerului câmpii Irminsul străbate
ca cometul cobe, spaimă, fiori.

Per concludere esaminiamo il testo della celeberrima *Preghiera*, forse uno dei componenti più famosi del melodramma italiano romantico. Il connubio tra neologismi latino-romanzi e lessico ereditato raggiunge qui la sua massima espressione:

Castă Diva, che inargenti
queste sacre antiche plante,
anoi volgi il bel sembiante,
senza nube e senza vel!
Tempra tu de' cori ardenti,
tempra ancora lo zelo audace.
Spargi in terra quella pace
che regnar tu fai nel ciel.

Castă divă, ce argintu-i
aste sacre, -antice plante,
spre noi fața ta întoarce
fără nor și fără vâl!
Inimi stâmpără aprinse,
stâmpără zel audace,
varsă pe pământ a pace
ce-a domni tu faci în cer.

Anche in questo estratto testuale notiamo molti elementi perfettamente sovrapponibili al testo originale (abbiamo sottolineato le corrispondenze più marcate). Si osservi, innanzi tutto, come il primo verso sia completamente composto da neologismi direttamente prelevati dai versi di Romani: il sintagma *Castă divă* e il verbo *a argintui* (con la forma abbreviata *argintui* invece del normale *argintuiești*, più vicina prosodicamente alla forma italiana). Si osservino, più avanti, al v. 2 *sacre, antice, plante* e, al v. 6, *zel audace*, anch'essi perfettamente sovrapponibili. Anche in questo caso Heliade fornisce alcune glosse nel *Vocabular* finale:

CASTU, CASTĂ. Curat, fără prihană, întreg întru feciorie, nepătat.²⁶

DIVU, DIVĂ. Zin, zină; zeu. De aci vin vorbele divin și devinitate.²⁷

PLANTĂ: Nume general prin care se înțeleg toate sadurile, precum: arburii, pomii, ierbele, și tot ce răsare din pământ.²⁸

È interessante notare come la maggior parte dei neologismi contenuti all'interno di questa sezione sia legata alla descrizione degli eventi naturali e dei rituali religiosi. Il fenomeno si ripete anche in altre zone del libretto, ad esempio, nel caso di *unsostantivoqualeselbă* e dei suoi derivati: *a selbei urâcioase*, e *moarte-n acea selbă*, *selbele patrii*, *din selba* | *sacră ias' orice profan* e, più avanti, al principio della quinta scena, *Sacra selbă e deșartă*. Curiosamente, nelle

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 696.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 697.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 699.

indicazioni sceniche Heliade Rădulescu scrive invece *Pădurea sacră a druizilor*, segno di una maggiore elevatezza stilistica del neologismo presente nel corpo del testo poetico e non richiesta al contrario nelle indicazioni teatrali; il neologismo, del resto, viene glossato nel *Vocabular* proprio con *pădure*:

SELBĂ: Pădure. De aci vine vorba selbatic.²⁹

Neologismi della sfera sacrale e religiosa si trovano numerosi anche nella scena seconda: *profund abisul, ministră, templu, atroce, extrema*,³⁰ *mantie druidică, altar, plumbă, sepolcral, templului*. O ancora nel recitativo *Sediziose voci: altarul Zeului, adicta, veghiente, arcană, fatală, decretul, ritul, profan, druidic, templu*.

Una volta individuate le caratteristiche della tecnica traduttoria, occorre domandarsi quali ragioni abbiano spinto Heliade Rădulescu a scegliere un'opera come *Norma*, titolo notoriamente difficile sia per la messa in scena (in particolare per quanto riguarda i costi e la qualità delle voci), sia per le capacità di comprensione di un pubblico come quello romeno, con tutte le probabilità non ancora al livello dei maggiori centri europei. A quanto sembra la *Norma* è un *unicum* all'interno del grande numero di opere letterarie tradotte da Heliade, che per quanto ne sappiamo, non ha tradotto altri melodrammi: la scelta di un lavoro così ambizioso e complesso potrebbe celare un interesse verso determinate caratteristiche letterarie presenti nel libretto. Non bisogna dimenticare, inoltre, lo stimolo rappresentato dalla traduzione del collega e rivale Gheorghe Asachi, di poco precedente, con cui certamente ha inteso gareggiare.³¹

Uno dei motivi che possono aver spinto Heliade nella scelta di un libretto che per vari aspetti si distacca dal linguaggio medio della produzione italiana è la presenza di una prepotente esemplarità tragica. L'elemento erotico non doveva essere sentito troppo lontano da certi stilemi che possiamo riconoscere già nella poesia neo-anacreontica dei fratelli Văcărescu, ancora in voga nei Principati all'epoca di Heliade. Ben diversa era la situazione per quei passaggi dove il libretto di Felice Romani cerca di ricostruire, anche linguisticamente, un'ambientazione non più neoclassica ma, al contrario, nordica, sacrale e ritualizzata. Inoltre, la singolare contaminazione tra atmosfere notturne e romantiche, da una parte, accanto a un soggetto classico e 'mediterraneo', dall'altra (i debiti verso il mito di Medea sono evidenti), deve aver attirato l'interesse di Heliade Rădulescu, letterato sicuramente aperto alle nuove

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 701.

³⁰ Cfr. nel vocabolario dei neologismi: «ATROCE. De la τρώγω, *atrox*: lucru ce nu se poate mânca, tare ca piatra, aspru, crud, crunt, feros» (*Ibidem*, p. 695); «ESTREMU: De la *extra* (stră), *extrem* sau *estrem*. Cel din căpătâi, cel de la sfârșit: hotărâle extreme, minutele extreme ale omului» (*Ibidem*, p. 698).

³¹ Cfr. *Ibidem*, pp. 692-4.

tendenze romantiche (suo il tentativo di tradurre in romeno l'*Hernani* di Victor Hugo), ma anche saldamente ancorato ad una formazione di tipo neoclassico (non è un caso, ad esempio, che abbia tradotto due tragedie di Voltaire, come *Mahomet* e *Brutus*).³² Il libretto della *Norma* reca come sottotitolo la parola 'tragedia lirica', riferendosi sicuramente al genere nobile della *tragédie lyrique* francese: Romani vi ricerca una dignità e una gravità maggiore rispetto alla produzione coeva, avvicinando il proprio libretto alla tragedia. Heliade Rădulescu è anch'egli interessato alla creazione di un linguaggio sublime adeguato alla scena teatrale nei suoi generi tragici: proprio per questo, nell'intenzione di nobilitare il più possibile la propria lingua, avvicinandola alla tradizione illustre dell'italiano poetico, egli sottopone il romeno a una complessa operazione di adattamento, selezione e innalzamento stilistico, all'interno di un genere estremamente vincolante dal punto di vista prosodico e strutturale come il libretto d'opera.

La traduzione della *Norma* è una tappa importante del programma di avvicinamento del romeno alla lingua italiana svolto da Heliade Rădulescu. Il fine ultimo era la fondazione di un teatro musicale autoctono che potesse gareggiare e raggiungere il livello della secolare tradizione italiana ed europea: l'innalzamento linguistico e l'adozione delle istituzioni poetiche della letteratura occidentale sono solamente il primo momento di una complessa *translatio* culturale che, nelle intenzioni di Heliade Rădulescu, avrebbe condotto rapidamente la lingua e la giovane letteratura romena dalla 'periferia' carpatica al 'centro' della grande cultura europea.

³² Sulla formazione di Heliade Rădulescu e sul suo oscillare tra posizioni classiciste e innovazioni romantiche sono fondamentali le ampie ricostruzioni storico-letterarie contenute in Mircea Anghelescu, *Echilibrul între antiteze. Heliade – o biografie*, București, Univers enciclopedic, 2001, nonché le osservazioni di Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840*, București, Cartea românească, 2008, pp. 479-91, che riprende e ridiscute le fondamentali acquisizioni critiche di Dumitru Popovici, *Ideologia literară a lui Heliade Rădulescu*, București, Cartea Românească 1935, pp. 66-86.

BIHAR COUNTY – GEOGRAPHICAL REALITIES REFLECTED IN MONOGRAPHIC WORKS FROM THE END OF 19TH–BEGINNING OF 20TH CENTURY

Stelian NISTOR*

Abstract. *The counties are the oldest administrative institutions in Hungary, the first one being founded by King Stephen I, in the 11th century. During centuries the county played a central role in the complex political and administrative structure of the Hungarian Kingdom and later in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. The publication of this book is related to one of the most important moments of Hungarian historiography, namely the institutional crystallization, the foundation of the academic scientific institutions. The monographic series could be also related to the progressive line of the Hungarian historiography, marked by some external influences, firstly given by the appearance of the ideas of positivism. The whole monographic series is an excellent source of comparative analysis, the series being a starting point for evolution analysis of different components (social, demographic, ethnic, landscape evolution, linguistics, etc.)*

Keywords: *monograph, Bihar county, comparative analysis, historical evolution.*

Introduction

The county was the main administrative unit of the Hungarian Kingdom, later of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy since the period of King Stephen (10th century). The counties as administrative units were official until the end of the Second World War, the administrative reform from 18 of august 1949 changing the old administrative forms. The new administrative units tried to overlap the old counties so that the new administrative units to be continuation of the old system.

The historical evolution of the county as administrative unit

The royal counties (*királyi vármegye*) were established in 1009 by King Stephen I and were four such administrative units. But the royal county as an administrative unit had also legislative power and was led by castellans who were also

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military leaders. The border counties (*comitatus confinii*) were meant to defend the borders but also a commercial role to tax goods were taken across the border. The administrative reform from 1870 marked the clear delineation of the administrative role from the legislative one, the county later on having only an administrative role.



Fig. 1 The map of Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy between 1881-1918¹

The administrative reform defined 64 counties: Abaúj-Torna, Alsó-Fehér, Arad, Árva, Bács-Bodrog, Baranya, Bars, Béké, Bereg, Beszterce-Naszód, Bihar, Borsod, Brassó, Csanád, Csík, Csongrád, Esztergom, Fejér, Fogaras, Gömő and Kis-Hont, Győr, Hajdú, Háromszék, Heves, Hont, Hunyad, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Kis-Küküllő, Kolozs, Komárom, Krassó-Szörény, Liptó, Máramaros, Maros-Torda, Moson, Nagy-Küküllő, Nógrád, Nyitra, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun, Pozsony, Sáros, Somogy, Sopron, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Szeben, Szepes, Szilágy, Szolnok-Doboka, Temes, Tolna, Torda-Aranyos, Torontál, Trencsén, Turóc, Udvarhely, Ugocsa, Ung, Vas, Veszprém, Zala, Zemplén, Zólyom.

The publication of this book is related to one of the most important moments of Hungarian historiography, namely the institutional crystallization, the foundation of the academic scientific institutions. The appearance of *Századok* publication (in 1867) and the foundation of the Association of Hungarian Historians were the starting moments of this institutional crystallization process. The process actually started around 1850 with the foundation of some local scientific associations (*Dunántúli Történetkedvelők Társasága*², *Nagykőrösi Történetkedvelők Társasága*³) which finally led to the crystallization of national scale scientific associations.

¹ <http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/maps/1910/bihar.jpg>

² The Association of History-lovers from Dunántúl

³ The Association of History-lovers from Nagykovács

A key moment of this process was the foundation of the Hungarian National Archives, in 1875, and the publication, based on the collection of documents *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, of the series *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*⁴. It was a key moment in the crystallization of a scientific current, moment followed by other series of publications such as *Archivum Rákócziánium*, under the supervision of Thaly Kálmán (1839–1909) or *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigonensis* under the supervision of Knauz Nándor (1831–1898).

The Hungarian historiography of the last decade of the 19th century is marked by the publication of some monumental syntheses, the first of its kind being *A magyar nemzet története* (published in 1896) under the supervision of Szilágyi Sándor (1827–1899). This monographic synthesis is the starting moment of a new current in Hungarian historiography, a current characterized by “*optimism, trust in the eternity of the Empire*”⁵.

This progressive line of the Hungarian historiography is marked by some external influences, firstly given by the appearance of the ideas of positivism. The *Századok* publication is one of the first which publish an article signed by Pauler Gyula, in 1871 and in 1874, introducing in the Hungarian historiography, the ideas of positivism, stated by Auguste Comte. According to Auguste Comte, the collective, large scale analysis of the material phenomena is the key pillar of a real historical analysis. Although it is his major work⁶, these ideas are not entirely clear; he was the first who let these positivist ideas to penetrate the Hungarian historiography world. If the positivist ideas are closely related to facts, one could notice that this is the period when a new type of historiography school emerged, *the settlement history, historical geography school*, represented by Teleki Józseftől (1790–1855), Ortvy Tivadar (1843–1916), Csánki Dezső (1857–1933) or *the folk-realist school*, represented by Borovszky Samu (1860–1912).

Borovszky Samu⁷ was born in Bácsordas (Vojvodina, Serbia) on March 25, 1860 and died in Budapest on April 24, 1920.

His link with Bihar county was established in 1870, when his family settled in Salonta where he started his highschools studies. In 1876 he left for Budapest, where, between 1879–1883, he was a student of the Budapest University. From 1880 he became the personal secretary of Lukács Móric (publicist, translator, member of the Directory Board of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and from 1882 he was the secretary of Lónyay Menyhértnek, the President of Hungarian Academy of Science. From 1884 he was the treasurer of Hungarian Academy of Science and from 1889 he was a correspondent member of the Academy. Between 1909–1912, he was the secretary of the Association of Hungarian Historians and editor in chief of the *Századok* publication.

⁴ <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02185/html/1291.html>

⁵ <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02185/html/1291.html>

⁶ *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt*, 1–2., 1893

⁷ <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html>

Together with Sziklay Jánossal, he was the editor in chief of the monographic series *Magyarország vármegyei és városai (1869–1914)* – *Hungary's counties and towns (1867/1914)*.

The first book of the monographic series was published in 1899, in the following years being published, until 1914, the other volumes of the series: 1896 – Kassa town, 1897 – Fiume and the croatian seaside, 1898 – Vas county, 1899 – Nyitra county, 1900 – Szabolcs county, 1901 – Bihar and Nagyvárad town, 1903 – Bars Gömör and Kis-Hont county, 1904 – Pozsony county, 1905 – Zemplén, Sátoraljaújhely county, 1906 – Hont and Selmeczbánya royal town, 1907 – Komárom county, 1908 – Esztergom Győr vármegye, Szatmár counties and Szatmárnémeti town, 1909 – Bács-Bodrog county, 1910 – Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun counties, 1911 – Nógrád county, 1912 – Torontál county, 1914 – Somogy, Temes counties and Temesvár town.

The series related to Bihar county was published in 1901, the foreword of the chapter being written by Tisza Kálmán, on July 23, 1901.

Bihar county was one of the oldest and greatest counties of the Hungarian Kingdom. It was an administrative unit from the 11th century until 1920, when, after the Trianon Treaty, a part of the former county was part of Romania and the rest remained as part of Hungary. The total area of the county, in 1910, was 10.657 sq.km. (the present area of Bihor county is 7535 sq.km.)

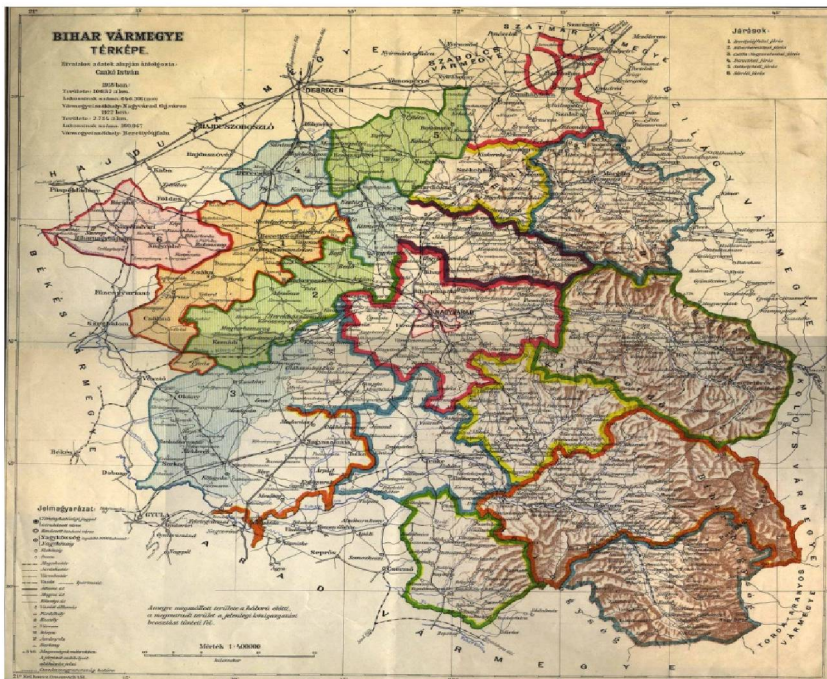


Fig. 2 The map of Bihar county from 1910, scale 1:400.000⁸

⁸ <http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/maps/1910/bihar.jpg>

The book is a full scan of Bihar county's reality at the beginning of the 20th century and is completed with 4 color pictures, four maps, 414 pictures and name and place index. The reader is introduced in the complex realities of the county having, at the end of the book, a detailed survey of the realities of the period.

Being a synthesis work, the monograph is a valuable source of information about the complex evolution of the county during the Middle Age up to the moment when it was published (in 1901), and is also an excellent source of information in the complex quest of comparing the evolution of the Bihar county from the moment of publishing until today.

The authors¹⁰ tried to make a comprehensive analysis of the county, the chapters of the monograph (relief and hydrography, lithology, localities, Oradea, ethnical structure, fauna, flora, water management and flood prevention, railway network, postal, telephone and telegraph services, public roads infrastructure, mining industry, trade, credit system, agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, health system, society, legal system, science and literature, cultural institutions, the organizations and structure of Latin language diocese, the organizations and structure of Greek-Catholic diocese, Reformed church, Orthodox church, Evangelical church, Israelite community, the origin of Oradea and Bihar county, history of Bihar county, public authority and administrative system, noble

families, personalities of the county) covering all the sides of their quest.

Worth mentioning are the first chapters of the book related to the natural conditions of Bihar county – lithology (chapter 2), flora (chapter 6), fauna (chapter 7), hydrological conditions and flood management (chapter 8) which are a valuable source of comparison with the present day situation.

The chapter dealing with localities of Bihar county (chapter three) is not a simple



Photo 1. Săcuieni/Székelyhíd marshes surrounding the village⁹

⁹ <http://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0005/6.html>

¹⁰ Tisza Kálmán, Bulk Kornél, Cséplő Péter, Dr. Dési Géza, Diamandy Miklós, Dús László, Dr. Edelman Menyhért, Erdélyi Zoltán, alföldi Flatt Károly, Karakas Károly, Kende János, Kertész Miksa, Korbély József, Materny Imre, May Sándor, Naményi Lajos, O'sváth Lajos, Dr. ifj. Reiszig Ede, Dr. Sarkadi Lajos, Schütz Albert, Sipos Orbán, Sterba Szabolcs, Sulyok István, Szmazenka Ernő, Szüts Dezső, Ullmann A., Vende Aladár, Vucskics Gyula, Winkler Lajos, Zsák J. Adolf

list of the localities, but is a valuable source of local history, territorial evolution, occupations of the inhabitants.

The numerous pictures added to this chapter are also a valuable source of information regarding the territorial evolution of the villages, the evolution of street network during decades, types of constructions. For example, the series of three pictures from Săcuieni/ Székelyhíd¹¹ offers multiple valuable information about the evolution of street network within the village, types of constructions (upper and lower picture), the evolution of natural conditions during decades, the distribution of marshes surrounding the village, the results of water management measures (middle picture).

Oradea/Nagyvárad¹² is assigned a separate chapter (chapter four) and the analysis is a detailed one, capturing intimate details of the town (for example the rank of the streets according to the length or the surface of the public buildings). This chapter is a primary source of local history, the author of the chapter (Dús László) making a detailed historical evolution of the town during centuries, from the foundation through the centuries, pointing out the role of major Hungarian kings and queens to its evolution. The chapter ends with the administrative organization of the town, number of electors, the results of the 1881 census, election-neighborhood, even a financial evolution of the public servants' salaries.

The chapter related to ethnic structure of the county¹⁴ (chapter five) is

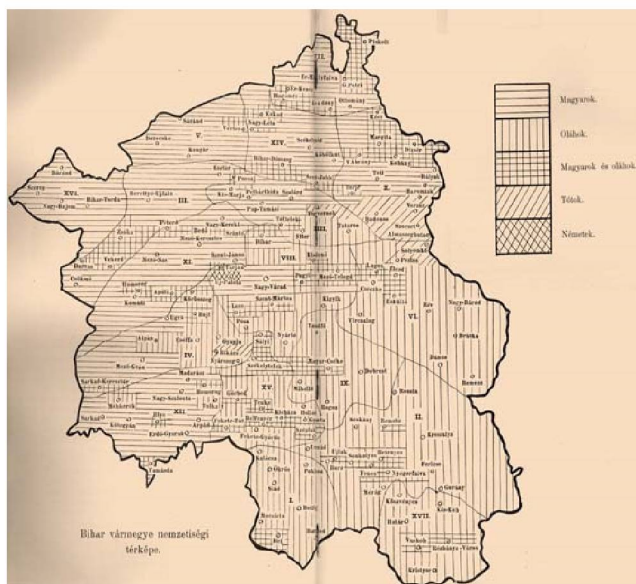


Fig. 3 The ethnic map of Bihar county¹³

one of the most complex and detailed of the monograph. The author (Vende Aladár) made a complex analysis of the demographic realities of the county, but the analysis is not a separate analysis of each ethnic group but he searches the complex influences of each ethnic group upon the others. The analysis starts with a general remark of the author related the two most important ethnic groups, the Hungarians

¹¹ <http://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0005/6.html>

¹² <http://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0005/7.html>

¹³ <http://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0005/8.html>

¹⁴ <http://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0005/8.html>

and the Romanians, the author noting that one could hardly find a place within the county without the Romanians are not present (*“alig van a vármegyének járása, melyben oláhok ne laknának”*, original text). Starting from this reality, all the analysis are made taking into account these realities, the complex demographic patterns of evolution, the complex interactions between the two nationalities. The author captures a demographic reality of the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th centuries which sometimes, nowadays, is intentionally forgotten.

The demographic realities captured by the author clearly show a mixed demography with a clear dominance, in some areas, of the Romanians, mentioning that the only purely Hungarian district is Sárret (*“az egyetlen teljesen magyar járás a sárréti, mert ez legtávolabb esik az oláhok lakta vidéktől”*, original text)¹⁵ in all other districts the presence of the Romanians being evident, in some cases, being the dominant ethnic element. Is interesting to observe the repartition of the two ethnic groups according to an imaginary line from Báránd to Tautelec, which “unite” two areas where the Hungarians were dominants (Báránd in the central-western part of Bihar county and Szilágy county). The author grasps the pattern of evolution of the two ethnic groups, namely the penetration of the Hungarians eastward, along Crişul Repede river, inside an area inhabited dominantly by Romanians, recognising that the increase of Hungarians number is the result of a conscious ethnic policy, the result of the “Hungarisation” because of the presence of Oradea (*Nagyvárad magyarosító hatását bizonyítja*). This result of this policy is a mixed ethnic structure in the villages along the Crişul Repede River, but the author admitted that most of the villages located in Plopiş Mountains remain almost entirely Romanian (*távolabb eső hegyközi községek legnagyobb része teljesen oláh*).

The analysis of the ethnic structure is a complex one, dealing with complementary questions such as construction techniques, the influence of different ethnic groups upon construction ways. It is worth mentioning that the author linked the nationality with religion, mostly in case of the Romanians, pointing out the membership to the Greek-Catholic Church of the inhabitants and analyzing the construction techniques, construction materials, decoration of the houses. It is interesting to observe that the author deepens the analysis performed to some quite interesting areas such as morality, trying to find different morality patterns for answering different behavioural habits.

Conclusions

Although there are some restrictive elements related to the monograph (language, the way in which it was written) the book is an excellent source of comparative analysis in many domains of history, geography, ethnography,

¹⁵ <http://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0005/8.html>

linguistics, architecture, yet unexploited in a scientific approach. The complex structure of the series, different historical approaches used by the authors to answer different scientific subjects are meant to offer debate ideas, comparison points.

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<http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/maps/1910/bihar.jpg>

AN ALGORITHM IN MITTELEUROPA

Ioan DERȘIDAN*

Abstract. *The algorithm citizen – Romanian – man is identified in the literary references of Ioan Slavici, Liviu Rebreanu and Schlattner Eginald. It deals with the relationships between ethnic groups versus ethnic members; state versus citizen; individual versus man under difficult times, experiencing history. These relationships are highlighted through selected examples from the works of the chosen writers, contrastively analyzed by using the following algorithm.*

Keywords: *citizen, Romanian man, ethnicity, state, duty, love.*

Ioan Slavici's and Liviu Rebreanu's works are representative for some of the Central European algorithms. Our comparison adds another one – Eginald Schlattner's creations, and focuses on the origin of Rebreanu's novel *Forest of the Hanged* (*Pădurea spânzuraților*) and on the features of E. Schlattner's works. Our approach emphasizes the characters' and ethnic groups' psychology, the scenes of war and prison, Ioan Slavici's and Liviu Rebreanu's partial preference for Germans, their freely consented literary collaboration with *Minerva*, *Ziua*, *Seara* and *Gazeta Bucureștilor*, but mostly the recurrence of the same algorithm in Ioan Slavici's article *How the Romanian Should Be* (*Cum trebuie să fie românul*), published in 1915 in *Calendarul Minervei*, but also its presence in Liviu Rebreanu's confessions made in his literary notebooks, in his novel *Forest of the Hanged* (*Pădurea spânzuraților*) or in E. Schlattner's works – in his autobiographical novel *The Red Gloves* (*Mămușile roșii*). The present literary approach is a possible parallel (a possible filiation) that, as far as we know, has never been mentioned before (in writing), in the form of such typical Central European algorithm.

Emil Rebreanu's tragedy and Apostol Bologa's doubtfulness, the mysterious tapping similar to "some immaterial fingers" ("brother's soul") and the portrait of an entire generation are all reflected within the novel. Yet, the invasion of reality in the novel seems to be organized by the three stages of the algorithm. The only pre-established elements in the novel are the algorithm, (three or four scenes) and the general ideas, but not the details.

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In short, the algorithm detected in the three literary creations – Ioan Slavici's article (1914), Liviu Rebreanu's novel (1922) and Eginald Schlattner's works (his novels and confessions) – is the following one: I. *How the Romanian should be* (*Cum trebuie să fie românul*). 1. As a human being; 2. As a citizen; 3. As a Romanian. II. *Forest of the Hanged* (*Pădurea spânzuraților*); 1. Apostol is a citizen...; 2. Apostol becomes a Romanian...; 3. Apostol becomes humane...; III. 1. Citizen. 2. German and Romanian. 3. A human being that is the product of history/times. Of the uttermost importance is the fact that we extracted from the three literary creations/writers the exact formulations, maintaining their construction and observing their inner logic (a similar principle) and their syllogistic form. The three stages act as bridges to be crossed by the dilemmatic characters, as chambers (palaces) that he takes refuge to for a while, because life is hunted by death and while in war or in prison, the hero is in danger and becomes restless.

Slavici's creation detects the existence of the national ideal, but underlines the lack of any individual fervor. At the same time, it approaches the issue of the human nature, kindness and abilities, expression of the writer's idealism and teaching profession. The humans who wander worldwide cannot be open to patriotism. The nationalist spirit depends directly on the cultivation of family virtues. Slavici insists on family relations, spirit of order and discipline in the family, school, army and state.

With Slavici, obligation involves understanding the fellow citizens, helping the poor and complying with the laws and the "legally constituted" authorities. The unworthy and incapable shall be removed from public life, administration, justice, finance, school, church or army. Therefore, a good citizen means a good Romanian. It takes love for your fellow citizens, brothers or human beings to strengthen the Romanian people. Achieving cultural unity involves getting rid of all the fanariots' sins, inspiring from "the good traditions of the people" (Eminescu) and approaching the rude, the uncivilized, the "mojic, topârlan, mocan, țuțuian"¹, as Slavici named it. In his literary notebooks, Liviu Rebreanu² structures his work as follows: *Part One – Obligation (Datoria)*, *Part Two – Love for the people – Nationalism (Dragostea de neam – Naționalismul)*, *Part Three – Love for all the fellow beings (Iubirea pentru toti oamenii)*, *Part Four – Love for death (Iubirea morții)*. Very important are also some literary formulations that bring the writer close to Eminescu, such as: "If we have found the essence of life, the reason opens up our mind, like roads and canals in a rich country" etc.

¹ See Ioan Slavici, *Opere XII, Scrieri pedagogice*, Editura Minerva, București, 1983, article „Cum trebuie să fie românul: ca om, ca cetățean, ca roman”, pp. 260-268.

² Liviu Rebreanu, *Opere 5. Pădurea spânzuraților*, Editura Minerva, București, 1972, pp. 326-331 and 353

Other approaches perceive differently the used principle (Central European algorithm), as follows: 1. "Apostol is a citizen, a small part of the great Ego of the state, a small element in a great mechanism, a person who becomes valuable only in his relation with the state". 2. "Apostol becomes Romanian. While the state is fictitious and circumstantial, as it brings together foreigners with feelings and aspirations different from those of the Romanians, the nation remains a refuge based on love, even if instinctual". 3. "Apostol becomes humane: in the middle of his people, the human being rediscovers his good ego, where lies the mercy and love for the entire mankind. Only from a conscious ego can emerge the great, universal love – the religion of the future".

The conflict (obligation-consciousness, belligerent attitude-love) within Rebreanu's hero is not outlined, even in incipient form, by Ioan Slavici's article. It seems to be upheld by other opinions. Consequently, the novel *Forest of the Hanged* (*Pădurea spânzuraților*) can be considered a controversial, procentual (a percentage reached by conflicts) answer to Slavici's article *How the Romanian Should Be* (*Cum trebuie să fie românul*). In the same algorithm, the two writers' messages are as different as the novel from the pedagogic writing. Experience is another divergent point between the two Transylvanian writers. Just as the rural realism differs from the magic realism, the modern Slavici, writer of force and morality, separates completely from "the filigree of the complicated psychology" (M. Zăciu) attributed to Rebreanu's characters.

A lot of critics have emphasized how due to overaction, the real elements of the novel's genesis get "legendary" dimensions. Some details are "bizarre", others are useful. Emil Rebreanu's life constitutes a "page of modern mythology"³ and is reflected in some of the main hero's (Apostol Bologa) incompatibilities and "soul bleedings". What gives substance to the novel is a combination of religious spirit, responsibility, love, strong will, as well as an epopee of war and of the common man burdened with the hardships of the times and tormented by dilemmas.

Undoubtedly, in prose, the character is essential and any reference to the novel's genesis must begin with Apostol Bologa. As "some of the biographical circumstances of Emil's life determined different interpretations in his family"⁴, we acknowledge (identify) the presence of the writer's principle or algorithm in other works, too.

If while writing his novel *Forest of the Hanged* (*Pădurea spânzuraților*), Liviu Rebreanu was not in possession of the entire current documentation regarding Emil Rebreanu (for instance, some of his love letters), he might have known and used accordingly other texts. He might have read Ioan Slavici's literary text from *Calendarul Minervei*. The reference to this text is made not

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 663-809.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 666

necessarily to prove any filiation (unproven yet), but to show the striking resemblances between the latter's literary construction and formulations and the novel's algorithm.

We tend to perceive this algorithm as a feature of the Central Europe, completely justified by the diversity of ideas and options offered by the two literary texts (an algorithm for Mitteleuropa). Very fond of archaic times and origins, of principles and events, of the state, society, discipline, obligation and decision-making (exploring the inner depths of his heroes who are analyzed on at least two levels), Ioan Slavici belongs to the tradition of the place that he depicts, by his interest in the human nature, life, countryside, by the rural mentality of some of his characters and by his propensity for fellow beings, for the organic, for the whole and its parts.

By comparison, Jaroslav Hasek's (1883-1923) perspective in *The Fateful Adventures of the Good Soldier Svejk during the World War*, a masterpiece of world literature, is satirical, ironical and realistic. At the border of the empire, Svejk, fabulous character and regular customer of the tavern, records the murder of Franz Ferdinand – Franz Josef's grandson – and is accused of high treason against the emperor and the empire by an Austrian detective. Being declared mad by the doctors, he will be expelled from the madhouse and will end up in prison and in the garrison, as orderly of a company's priest and lieutenant (Lukas); he will then be enrolled and sent to the front, in the middle of the disaster, between centre and periphery, throughout Austria, Czech Republic, Serbia and Hungary, and finally, he will get right amidst the Russian soldiers, as a prisoner. The character deployment resembling a carnival, the war, the tavern, the railway stations and the company's kitchen are just a few common places of the end of 19th century and of an empire, that the writer leaves behind laughing and joking, just like a survivor, smelling like kitchen, prison and war. The algorithm citizen – ethnicity – human being/ordinary human being, in different proportions and combinations, makes use of the above mentioned chronotopes, relying on the popular imaginary, which explores the periphery/borders and the common people. Other characters in the novel are the maid, the soldier, the priest and the citizen.

Although we clearly distinguish Ioan Slavici's pedagogic writings from his literary prose, we cannot overlook some epic nuclei found in these writings, the art of creating conflicts and revealing their causes, as well as the mixture of his scientific and literary figments in his explanatory, pedagogic texts. That is why, in his *Human Deed (Fapta omenească)*, a writing that was mostly inspired by the documents accompanying his prose, we can detect one of the most amazing stories or confessions about love and death that have ever been heard (the father's words, who passed away only two weeks after his wife's death: "You want to comfort me? How could you comfort me when you are fool enough not to be aware of what you have lost yourself? If you told me that from now on

things are going to get worse I would be relieved that she won't suffer anymore; but to tell me that things will be better and to believe that this will comfort me? That's what you think? What do I care? Go away, leave me alone, for I am a weak man and I could even forgive you. I raised you and showed you the world; I fulfilled my obligation and you don't owe me anything! Return the favor to your children, if you ever have any!" Again, Slavici's intuitions are profound in all types of texts – literary or pedagogic.

The resort to this algorithm in the two texts (Ioan Slavici's pedagogic writing and Liviu Rebreanu's novel) was required by the code of the century, by the intellectuals' interests and the Transylvanian Romanians' attitude toward the national issue. Yet, the typical themes of the pedagogic writing (the individual or the ethnic group) acquire particular dimensions with Rebreanu (Emil – Apostol Bologa's case). Ioan Slavici's logical but finite succession of remarks on the Romanian individual as a human being, as a citizen and as a Romanian takes a metaphorical structure with Liviu Rebreanu. Revealing Apostol Bologa means rediscovering Emil Rebreanu. Bologa's conflictual states and his hesitations remove him from the algorithm strategies, that rely very little on uncertainty and conflicts. But the ingenuity and the combinations of this prose can be attributed to this algorithm, just as the possible situations that can be identified within the same texts are the result of the same algorithm and of some similar codes.

The reflection in literature of various reality bites, of the relation between ephemeral and eternal, of the human being's complex inner universe are the main features of his prose – a prose about the truth as “an acknowledged reality”, where the raw facts are “transfigured” by a ruthless, painfully sincere and unique confession “beyond the legend, saints, myths, heroes and untruthful fairy tales”, as Eginald Schlattner demonstrated. The most eloquent cases of literary resemblance based on works, history and biography seem to us those of Liviu Rebreanu and Eginald Schlattner. We particularly emphasize the conclusions resulting from the uniqueness of creation, the “cursed and blessed” mastery of words, and the original depiction of the brother/the other person as “a prototype of an entire generation”. Also, we point out that the Central European algorithm found with Ioan Slavici and Liviu Rebreanu (citizen, Romanian/ethnic group, human being and faith) can also be applied to the German writer Eginald Schlattner.

Interested in the history of Transylvania and the destiny of the Transylvanian Saxons, Eginald Schlattner has confessed many times that “although I am a Romanian citizen, I don't consider myself a Romanian, and yet, Romania is my country” or “although my mother tongue is German, I am not German, but I belong to the German cultural area”. The terror of history (“great times”), the detention and prison experience, the intellectuals as victims of the totalitarian regime, the inner and outer “immigration”, and the literary creation as a risk factor, all these elements are reflected in the autobiographical novel *The*

Red Gloves (Mănușile roșii) by Eginald Schlattner, which can also be thought of as a chronicle of the Transylvanian Saxons and of the intellectuals living in dreadful times. The novel's perspective is historical, fictional and psychological and is very much like/can be compared with the one approached by Liviu Rebreanu and Ioan Slavici. Eginald Schlattner's work focuses on the exile, on the states of consciousness and limit-experiences, revealing a "way of writing for survival" and presenting "the swan song of an entire world" (Rodica Binder).

The autobiographical feature of the books printed by Eginald Schlattner in German, in Vienna (*The Beheaded Cock / Cocosul decapitat* – 1998; *The Red Gloves / Mănușile roșii* – 2000; *The Piano in the Fog / Pianul in ceață* – 2005) and translated into Romanian (the first two, in 2001 and 2005), and the accuracy of observation and analysis approach the writing of this important writer of the early 3rd millennium, who investigates the Romanian period between 1944-1960, to the prose, diary and memoirs of Ioan Slavici and Liviu Rebreanu, 50 and respectively, 80 years after their death.

The Gulag, the literature of apocalypse, Communism, totalitarianism, of the war (World War I and II) are just a few of the great/actual themes that stir the interest of many writers, researchers and analysts in the field of politics, literature, history and journalism, ethnic groups, etc. The literary researcher will always show an interest in analyzing the openness of literature toward history/reality and that of history toward literature. Similar experiences, occurring almost simultaneously, highlight the importance of the method, literary and historical tools and terminology chosen by the writer. Eginald Schlattner can be associated with the Central European algorithm, due to his personality, biography and works, in his quality of Romanian citizen, descendent of the Saxons living in the Carpathian Curvature, Lutheran priest and writer in German language. The historical, political and social features of the novel *The Red Gloves (Mănușile roșii)* are strongly related to the heroes' national and human identity, to the love for one's fellow-beings and God, to living together and surviving. The writer's confessions and novels do justify his connection with the debated Central European algorithm: citizen – human being – ethnicity / Romanian and they remain an answer / openness (through biography and creation) to the challenges of history.

THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY OF THE ROMANIAN EXILE

Anarela CHIȘ (MESEȘAN) *

Ion ZAINEA**

Abstract. *The rallying of the Romanian exile to the democratic values of the European identity, by its actions, is, in our opinion, more than obvious. The members of the Romanian Exile, by joining the European democratic values, considered themselves citizens of Free Europe.*

The struggle of Romanian exile for democracy and European identity, and the implementation of these values beyond the "Iron Curtain" set in 1948, was made by various means: cultural, civic or even political, by repeated attempts to unite the exile either around some personalities, major political parties or, in terms of cultural and civic associations, by the establishments of associations, printing houses, etc.

The press from exile and radio stations in Romanian, such as Europa Liberă (Free Europe Radio station), Deutsche Welle, BBC as well as Biblioteca Română din Freiburg (The Romanian Library of Freiburg) and various printing houses were among the most powerful opinion-leaders in exile and not only. Through them, the Romanian Diaspora supported the recognition and redeployment of Western European democratic values in Eastern Europe, especially in Romania.

The anti-Communist methods, of supporting the democratic European identity, used by the Diaspora were diverse, some of them more incisive, with direct results in a short term, others with important results though not immediately visible. We believe, without mystifying the phenomenon of exile, that the exile's activities, in conjunction with the actions in the country, determined, in time, the end of the Communist regime in Romania.

Keywords: *exile, identity, European, periodicals, printing houses.*

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The occupation of Eastern Europe by the Socialist Soviet Republic Union, at the end of World War II, the rejection of the Marshall Plan (June 1947) and the establishment of Kominform (September 1947) led to the American reaction, expressed in 1948, through the doctrine of “embankment”, designed to support a policy of limiting Soviet expansion. Wartime alliance crumbled and the “Cold War” began to show¹. Many observers characterized the Marshall Plan as an anti-Communist program, which effectively confirmed the division of Europe between the East and West².

After the establishment of totalitarian Communist regimes in Europe, we can say that the exile can be considered an Eastern European phenomenon. The manifestation of European identity by the Romanian exile, by Diaspora members joining the values of free Europe, assumed immediately after World War II in the Hague Congress (May 7 to 11, 1948) and later by various international democratic organizations (Council of Europe - 1949, etc.), is clear and unequivocal. The members of the Romanian exile, by adhering to democratic European values, considered themselves as citizens of free Europe.

Dialog magazine of May 1986 published this statement regarding *the Romanian exile deontology*: “Can an exiled, either with a political refugee status or already naturalized, either declaring himself of the right, left, or any other trend, become, directly or indirectly, the echo of the theses of the regime which he runs from? Can he, while claiming to lead a political activity, systematically refrain from taking a stand against this regime? Moreover, can he collaborate – openly or not – with official representatives or officials of the regime in power? Can he have contact with the embassy of that country? And can he write in publications sponsored by that regime? Obviously not. If you don’t follow the basic ethics of the exile, you cannot claim to be a refugee, an exiled, a dissident, or a spokesman for oppressed nations”³. In *Enciclopedia exilului literar românesc: 1945-1989 (The Romanian Literary Exile Encyclopedia: 1945-1989)*, we find that this statement was signed, by April 20th 1986, by 104 people⁴.

In the INMER presentation, the Romanian exile is defined as “the voice of those without the right”, this representing, according to the magazine, the

¹ Mihai Bărbulescu, Dennis Deletant, Keith Hitchins, Șerban Papacostea, Teodor Pompiliu, *Istoria României*, București, Editura Corint, 2002, p. 392.

² Tomas Parish, *Enciclopedia războiului rece*, București, Editura Humanitas, 2002, p. 8.

³ Florin Manolescu, *Enciclopedia exilului literar românesc: 1945-1989*, (editia a II-a), București, Editura Compania, 2010, p. 246.

⁴ Those who signed the declaration regarding *the Romanian exile ethics*, published in the magazine *Dialog* (revistă a Cercului Democratic al Românilor din Germania), no. 63, may 1986: Mihnea Berindei, Daniel Boc, Matei Cazacu, Radu Câmpeanu, Șerban Cristovici, Neagu Djuvara, Horea Georgescu, Paul Goma, Virgil Ierunca, Eugen Ionescu, Cicerone Ionițoiu, Monica Lovinescu, Maria Manoliu Manea, Vasile Mănuceanu, Virgil Nemoianu, Oana Orlea, Alain Paruit, Remus Radina, Ion Solacolu, Sandală Stolojan, Dorin Tudoran, Ion Vianu, etc. Florin Manolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

community of people who, being in the free world countries between 1940 and 1989, were civically engaged and filed as acting publically, politically, democratically, anti-Communists, in the interest of Romania fallen under the totalitarian Communist regime, the exile being the carrier of values and ideals of freedom, democracy, national independence, that could not be expressed at that time either by the Romanian state, placed under the Communist repression, or on its territory⁵.

This idea is found in several members of the Romanian exile. Virgil Ierunca, for example, writes in April 1986 in a text about Mircea Eliade that “being obsessed by Romania in exile is a sample of moral health and spiritual responsibility”⁶, that memory and fidelity in exile become attitudes of existence. Exile involves an initial channel which is no other than “the land from where we were forced to leave”⁷.

Most people remaining abroad, or leaving the country immediately after the coming to power of the Communist regime, were those who worked in diplomacy. “Culturally attached in the war era, they were, for the occupants, <collaborationists>. For the cultured men of the Communist regime they were traitors, criminals of war, they were the beasts who had accused the disaster of Romania”⁸. Some of them were caught by the instauration of the Communist dictatorship outside the borders of the country. Others left immediately after the beginning of the Communist dictatorship, for fear of reprisals, most of them having been a part of the old management structures or their sympathizers. We can recall here sympathizers and followers of the legionary movement, supporters of Marshall Ion Antonescu, monarchists, traditionalists, i.e. members of the old political parties like the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, etc.

Besides those mentioned before, the repressions of the Communist regime, exercised through all means over its 45 years, made many Romanians who could not support the horrors of this regime any longer choose exile, some of them even being forced by the institutions of oppression and control of the Romanian totalitarian state to leave the country without the possibility of ever coming back.

After World War II we can distinguish several stages of exile, having as a criteria either periods of time in which departures across borders occurred, or the number of those who were asylum seekers, for various reasons. Thus, according to Laurențiu Ulici, two periods can be distinguished in terms of cultured people leaving the country, especially writers after the war: one between

⁵ *Prezentare INMER in Caietele Inmer*, anul IV, nr. 10, decembrie 2007, p. 51.

⁶ Virgil Ierunca, *Subiect și predicat*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1993, p. 37.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁸ Cornel Ungureanu, *La vest de Eden: o introducere în literatura exilului*, Timișoara, Editura Amarcord, 1995, p. 8.

1945-1949, when about 50 writers took the path of exile, mostly after the persecutions of the Communist regime in its Stalinist period; the other between 1972-1989, when approximately 2000 writers left the country⁹.

Eva Behring, choosing the decade as a criterion, distinguished three “waves” of consistent Romanian literary exile. The first was between 1940-1950, when foreigners took this path of exile, including, among others, Mircea Eliade, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Vintilă Horia, Aron Cotruș, George Uscătescu, Pamfil Șeicaru, Emil Cioran, Horia Stamatu, Stefan Baci, Alexandru Ciorănescu, George Ciorănescu, Virgil Ierunca and Monica Lovinescu. The second “wave” occurred approximately between 1960-1970, to this wave belonging writers such as Dumitru Țepeneag, Paul Goma, Virgil Nemoianu, Ion Negoitescu, Virgil Tănase, Ioan Petru Culianu, Pavel Chihăia, Sanda Golopenția, Ion Ioanid. The third “wave” is of those who left Romania after 1980, and we mention here Norman Manea, Ion Caraion, Dorin Tudoran, Matei Vișniec, Bujor Nedelcovici, Nicolae Balotă, Mircea Zăciu, Virgil Duda¹⁰.

In an analysis of the Romanian Diaspora, Ion Rațiu considers that the first episode of the exile included those who had taken a pro-allied position at the beginning of the war, the second wave was the legionnaires eliminated by Ion Antonescu, who formed the Government of Vienna, after August 23th 1944, those who participated in the third wave were those who managed to save themselves during the establishment of the Communist regime in Romania, afterwards forming the Romanian National Committee (1945-1948); finally the fourth wave was represented by those who took refuge from the Communist regime because of the terror, deprivation and disappointments¹¹.

The largest and most active diaspora groups in Europe were in France, Spain and Germany, but there were important groups in Italy, Switzerland, Portugal, Holland, and also Sweden.

The Romanian exile’s struggle for democracy and European identity, implementing these values beyond the “Iron Curtain” fallen in 1948, was carried through diverse means: cultural, civic or even political, by repeated attempts to unite the exile either around some personalities (King Michael), either around the major political parties (the National Peasant Party, Liberal National Party) or, in terms of cultural and civic associations, by the establishments of associations, printing houses, etc.

The main associations, publishing houses and magazines from the European exile, which tried to keep to Romanians abroad awake and united, and which supported the importance of the European identity were:

⁹ Laurențiu Ulici, „Avatarii lui Ovidiu”, in *Secolul 20*, nr. 10-12/1997, 1-3/1998 (391-396), pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ Eva Behring, *Scriitori români din exil 1945-1989: o perspectivă istorico-literară*, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 2001, p. 23.

¹¹ Rodica Bogdan, Mara Ștefan, *Ion Rațiu: Întoarcerea din exil*, București, Editura Festina, 1993, p. 72.

Associations: Asociația Culturală Hispano-Română din Salamanca (The Cultural Hispano-Romanian Association of Salamanca) (1949), Centrul Român de Cercetări din Paris (The Romanian Research Centre Paris) (1949), Biblioteca Românească din Freiburg (The Romanian Library of Freiburg) (1949), Fundația Regală Universitară Carol I din Paris (The Royal University Foundation „Carol I” in Paris) (1951), Societatea Academică Română de la Roma (The Academic Romanian Society of Rome) (1957), Asociația Culturală Românească și Fundația Culturală Română de la Madrid (The Romanian Cultural Association and Romanian Cultural Foundation from Madrid) (1957, 1983), Cenaclul de la Neuilly de la Paris (The Literary Circle from Neuilly from Paris) (1963), Asociația Culturală a Românilor din Anglia (The Cultural Association of the Romanians in England) (1965), Cenaclul „Apoziția” (The “Apposition” Literary Circle) (1969), Scientific Studies and Research Centre of Romanians in Germany, the Romanians' Democratic Circle in Germany, the Romanian Institute for Research.

Publishing houses: Argo, Biblioteca Română, Caietele Inorogului, Carpați, Coresi, Curentul, Dacia, Destin, Ethos, Limite, Nistru, Nord (Victor Frunză), Ion Dumitru, Semn, Stindardul Românilor, etc.

Periodicals: *Alergătorul de la Marathon*, *Buletinul Bibliotecii Române*, *Buletin de informații al Românilor din Exil (BIRE)*, *Carpați*, *Caietele Inorogului*, *Caiete de Dor*, *Cuvântul Românesc*, *Destin*, *Dialog*, *Ethos*, *Limite*, *Revista Scriitorilor Români*, *Luceafărul*, *Orizonturi*, *Lupta*, *Vatra*, *La Nation Roumaine*¹², *România Muncitoare*¹³, *Curierul Românesc*¹⁴, *Săptămâna munceneză*, *Stindardul*, *Vocea Libertății*.

The press from exile and radio stations in Romanian, as *Europa Liberă* (Free Europe Radio station), *Deutsche Welle*, were among the most powerful opinion-leaders in exile and not only. Through them, the Romanian Diaspora supported the recognition and redeployment of Western European democratic values in Eastern Europe, especially in Romania.

Ion Vianu, who helped with the reconstruction of the *League for Defense of Human Rights*, noted that the most active members of this association were Sanda Stolojan, Maria Brăteanu, Dinu Zamfirescu, Mihnea Berindei, Ariadna

¹² *La Nation Roumaine*, *Bulletin d'informations du Conseil des partis politiques roumains: National Paysan – National Liberal – Social democrate independent*, the newspaper appears in France, at Paris, from 1948 until 1973, in French, being financially supported by Alexandru Cretzianu from Fondul Național Român (The Romanian National Fund). Cf. Florin Manolescu, *op.cit.*, p. 452.

¹³ “social and political magazine of the unionists in exile, monthly publication, roneotip drawn, written in Romanian”. Cf. Documente – *Asociația ziariștilor români din străinătate* – taken from ACNSAS by PhD. Dumitru Dobre, in *Caietele Inner*, year II, no. 2, march 2005, p. 51.

¹⁴ Independent publication, appears in 1980, in Sweden, responsible editor being Silvia Constantinescu. Cf. Florin, Manolescu, *op.cit.*, p. 231.

Combes. About Radio *Europa Liberă* (*Free Europe* Radio station) he said that “it was itself a thinking club, with people who took great risks...”. He also said that it was someone else, very important in exile and for exile, namely King Michael, who “was... the most important personality and his position... mattered very much to us”¹⁵.

Perhaps the best presentation of the actions of exile is found abroad in a synthesis-note of SIE, regarding certain institutions and organizations used by Radio *Europa Liberă*¹⁶ (*Free Europe* Radio station), note dated 30.10.1980, collected from the archives by PhD Dumitru Dobre and published in INMER Notebooks. This note presents the actions taken by the Radio *Europa Liberă* (*Free Europe* Radio station) in pursuit of its primary goal, meaning to “free Eastern Europe nations from the Communist domination”. It mentions some of the organizations with which Radio *Europa Liberă* (*Free Europe* Radio station) collaborated directly or through intermediaries, namely a number of international organizations, most of them militating in favor of human rights, such as *Amnesty International*, having head its office in England and subsidiaries in France, Belgium, Switzerland. “The branch of *Amnesty International* from France was working closely with the sub-redaction Radio *Europa Liberă* (*Free Europe* Radio station), where the most active contributors were Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca, Paul Goma, Virgil Tănase, Maria France Ionescu, Mihai Corne, Ion Vianu, Dan Berindei and others”¹⁷. Other organizations “engaged in hostile activities, hostile against Romania” are, according to the note, *Comitetul Internațional pentru Apărarea Drepturilor Omului*, *Organizația Internațională a Pen Cluburilor* (*the International Committee for Human Rights*, *the International Pen Club*), through which CIA and radio *Europa Libera* (*Free Europe* Radio station) “intended to attract writers from Romania and other socialist countries, in order to determine them to stay abroad or just to engage them in activities hostile against their country of origin”, and are mentioned Paul Goma, Dumitru Țepeneag, Virgil Tănase, G. Banu. It is further stated that the section for Romania of *Europa Libera* Radio station (*Free Europe* Radio station) collaborates, informatively, with sections of the Romanian language radio stations *Deutsche Welle*, *Vocea Americii* (*Radio station Voice of America*), *BBC*, *Radio Franța*, *Radio Ierusalim* (*Radio station Jerusalem*) and *Radio Vatican*. From the network of institutions and organizations in France “some of them created by *Europa Libera* (*Free Europe* Radio station) or at its suggestion”, identified by our secret services in Communist period, are presented to us: *Fundația pentru Întrajutorarea Intelectualilor Europeni* (*Foundation for Mutual*

¹⁵ „Disidență și exil (III) – dezbateri”, in *Caietele Inmer*, year II, no. 4, november 2005, p. 22.

¹⁶ Synthetical note on certain institutions and organizationa abroad used by “Free Europe” radio station, in *Caietele Inmer*, year II, no. 4, November 2005, p. 57-63.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

Aid of European Intellectuals), which grants documentation scholarships and financial aid to some intellectuals from Eastern Europe, who were traveling in the free world and, “at the suggestion of *Radio Europa Liberă* (*Free Europe* Radio station) respectively of Monica Lovinescu’s offers subscriptions to various publications, scholarships, financial aid to some Romanian cultivated men and artists”. Among others, are registered here Gheorghe Astalos, Dumitru Țepeneag, Virgil Tănase, Georgescu George, Radu Dumitru, Dorin Tudoran, Ion Miclea. We note here that *Europa Liberă* (*Free Europe* Radio station) stimulates Western Romanian writers and publishers to write a <history> about the regime of prisoners in the Romanian, on the model of Soljenitzin. Other associations or organizations that worked for the country, the Parisian exile, especially, are: *Asociația Francezilor de Origine Română – AFDOR* (Association of French with Romanian Origin – AFDOR) created in 1964, *Comitetul Român pentru Libertatea de Circulație a Oamenilor în Europa* (The Romanian Committee for Freedom of Movement of People in Europe), created in 1975, *Societatea culturală Doina* (Cultural Society *Doina*), established in 1977 and specialized in cultural issues for preserving Romanian traditions, *Noua Ligă pentru Apărarea Drepturilor Omului în România* (New League for Defense of Human Rights in Romania), created by Michael Kore, in May 1980, *Asociația pentru Sprijinirea Intelectualilor din Europa de Est* (Association for Supporting of Intellectuals in Eastern Europe), constituted around the *Pen Clubul francez* (French club), at the initiative of the writer Jean Mathieu, a member of the French Academy and president of the *Asociației Internaționale pentru Libertatea Culturii* (International Association for Freedom of Culture). From the same document we find out that the radio station maintains contacts with various religious organizations and churches of Romanian emigration from France, as the Romanian Orthodox Church in Paris, and that at the divine services and church’s activities take part many Romanian immigrants of all political orientations and Romanian persons who came temporarily in France, as the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church in France, which is also a frequently meeting place of the reactionary Romanian emigration, mentioning that security has information according to which “here... meetings were held with representatives of emigration from Eastern European countries... who tried to create a <common front> action against Romania and other socialist countries on human rights theme”¹⁸.

Cultural and artistic circles in emigration were also mentioned, such as *Cenacul Literar* (Literary Club) in Paris, founded in 1954 on the initiative of Leonida Mămăligă’s club frequented mostly by people connected with *Europa Liberă* (*Free Europe* Radio station), and nominated those considered to be most active, namely Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca, Dumitru Țepeneag, Virgil Tănase, Marie France Ionescu, Teodor Cazaban, Paul Barbăneagră, Dan

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

Grigorescu, Gheorghe Astaloş, Ilie Constantin. There are also mentioned the major publications considered as having a hostile content, in which literary materials from Romania and other European socialist countries are published, “especially advertising the nonconformist writers and dissidents” like *Caietele din Est* (Eastern Notebooks), a magazine created by *Europa Liberă* (Free Europe radio station) and which appeared from 1975 in Paris, *Limite*¹⁹ (Limits), having Virgil Ierunca and Nicolae Petra as editors, and the magazine *Buletin de Informare pentru Românii din Exil* (Newsletter for Romanians in Exile), that appears from 1948, edited by Rene Theo .

In Republic of Federal German, in order to collect data and information about our country, the exile uses *Asociația Academică Română* (the Romanian Academic Association), a branch of *Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene* (the Institute of South-East European Studies), *Organizația Saşilor din România* (Organization of Saxons in Romania), located in Munich, *Centrul Democrat al Românilor* (Democratic Centre of Romanians), based in Dusseldorf, led by Şerban Orăscu, *Universitatea din Heidelberg* (University of Heidelberg), *Asociația Caritas* (Caritas Associations), led by Gh. Tase, *Cenacul literar Apozitia* (Literary Club Apozitia) founded by *Europa Liberă* (Free Europe Radio station) in Munich, led by Gheorghe Ciorănescu. The employees of the section for Romania of *Europa Liberă* (Free Europe Radio station), maintain relations with Western journalists who travel to our country, through whom information is received from Romania, or they “are used as emissaries of *Europei Libere* (Free Europe Radio station)”. Mentioned here is the collaboration of that radio station with Western news agencies as: *France Press*, *Reuter*, *UPS*. From the same informative document we find out that the section for Romania of this radio station used a number of elements in the entourage of former King Michael I and in the team of the new *Comitet Național Român* (Romanian National Committee). As a conclusion, it says that through all these institutions and organizations *Europa Liberă* (Free Europe Radio station) “organizes anti-Romanian propaganda activities... in order to <convince> the public opinion in our country that such problems are well known and in order to create the impression that there is an opposition, both in Romania and abroad, against the social and political system in Socialist Republic of Romania”²⁰. In the end it is stated that the note “will be available for security units which are responsible in <Eterul> (The Ether) action”²¹.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 62, magazine that according to the briefing note “appreciates and ranks Romanian cultural values and their representatives in the country in relation to the interests of <Free Europe Radio station> with the obvious purpose of discrediting the people attached to the cultural policy of the party and our state, of making evident <the creation> of those with nonconformist attitude and creating divisions among people of culture and art in Romania”.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

The forms of anti-Communist action, of supporting the democratic European identity, used by the Diaspora, were diverse, some of them more incisive, with direct results in the short term, others with important results not immediately visible. We believe, without mystifying the phenomenon of exile, that the exile's activities, in conjunction with the actions in the country, determined, in time, the end of the Communist regime in Romania.

Leontin Iuhas, Doina Cornea's son, saying that his perception on the exile was an indirect one, considers that "what the exile really made... is that it militated, made lobby with the governments, the organizations, tried all that was possible, fighting for human rights in Romania and for our freedoms"²².

About the international situation, the realities of Romania, as well as the existence of hopes among the exile and foretelling the end of the oppressive system in the country, we find out from the New Year messages of H.H. Romanian King Michael addressed to the Romanian people in December 31, 1987, broadcast on *Europa Liberă* (Free Europe Radio station) and in 1988. In the first message, the King reminded that 40 years had passed since he was forced to abdicate, saying that after the events in Braşov and Timişoara, after the previous ones in the Jiu Valley, Iaşi, the whole world, finally, understood that Romanians had have enough and that the truth about ... the police terror is now publicly denounced. But while "the leaders of the vast neighboring empire propose <transparency and restructuration> ... the S.R. of Romania government ... maintain the despotic yoke of bondage, without any consideration for the needs of citizens ... of the only European country where nothing flourishes but the cult of personality, which became the laughing stock of the whole international media"²³. He also says here, that the world situation "is in a state of fluctuation: Geneva 1985 Reykiavik 1986, Washington 1987 are important events that give hope to those 150 million oppressed serfs in Europe, among whom we, the Romanians, carry the heaviest chains ... These facts encourage us, who are in exile, to fight for the liberation of the country ... In defense of Human Rights, a strong voice, that of Pope John Paul II, speaks with authority, demanding to be respected the oppressed ones, robbed, poor and weak".

The European identity, as access to democratic values, is supported by *Biblioteca Română din Freiburg* (The Romanian Library of Freiburg), another institution of the Romanian exile, founded on May 1st, 1949, by Virgil Mihăilescu and a group of Romanian scholars who took refuge here. It has become within 30 years "a real centre of radiation of the true Romanian culture"²⁴. In *Cuvântarea*

²² „Disidență și exil (III) – dezbateri”, in *Caietele Inner*, anul II, nr. 4, noiembrie 2005, p. 19.

²³ Mesajul Regelui Mihai adresat poporului român de Anul Nou 1987, in *Caietele Inner*, anul III, nr. 5, martie 2006, p. 11.

²⁴ „Cuvinte despre Biblioteca Română din Freiburg”, in Leontin Jean Constantinescu, *România între seceră și ciocan: publicistica exilului*, Bucureşti Editura Jurnalul Literar, 2005, p. 187.

festivă (the Festive Speech) held on November 7, 1979, on the occasion of celebrating 30 years since the establishment of the Romanian Library, it is stated that the significances of the constitution of this institution cannot be fully understood outside the context of its inception, because this initiative was taken during the moment in which the authorities of Romania systematically destroy everything that is contrary to the interests of the new regime, “falsifying the history, <purifying> the literature, censoring his thinking and artistic creation”²⁵. At the end of 1986, the Library has reached a total that exceeded 70,000²⁶ books and over 2,000 newspapers and magazines, plus an extensive archive, including phonograph records, art, icons, medals and ancient coins, pieces of furniture and so on.

According to the status of the Romanian Library in Freiburg, it has set several objectives, including “publishing certain works of great importance for Romanism and works that are meant to serve the Romanian case abroad”²⁷.

The Library’s activity in the early years has a number of achievements, including editing several essential works of national culture, which “had a great response to our Romanian world of refugees”²⁸. Among them we mention the publishing of some *wandering editions* of the masterpieces of Mihai Eminescu, Vasile Alecsandri, Ion Luca Caragiale, multiplied by a mimeograph. Some of these volumes are found in the family library of Monica Lovinescu - Virgil Ierunca. We mention here the first publication of *wandering edition* series, meaning a volume containing poems by Mihai Eminescu, printed in 1949.

Coresi typography is “another institution of Romanian Diaspora”, through which Romanian exiles, by the works published here, most of them in the fields of memoirs and history, have supported those in country, while informing people in democratic countries about the horrors happening in Romania. The Romanian press in exile says “*Coresi* typography aims to strengthen national consciousness and to unite the Romanian people in order to save the country from the Russian occupation”. In the preface to the volume *Rezistența armată a românilor împotriva comunismului: 1944-1960* (The Romanian Armed Resistance Against Communism: 1944-1960), written by Cicerone Ionițoiu, Nicolae Constantinescu mentions that “*Coresi* typography took the task of informing the worldwide public opinion about the heroic past of

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ In the first years after constitution, library focused only exiles’ books, but its concerns were then extended to the entire Romanian cultural productions, and since 1970 have been received books published in Romania after 1944. The enriching the library fund has been done over the years by many donations, including personal libraries of important leading members of Romanian exile around the world.

²⁷ Biblioteca Română din Freiburg, *O operă românească în exil: șapte ani de activitate: 1949-1956*, Freiburg, Editura Biblioteca Română, 1956, p. 17.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

the Romanian people and of claiming the right to be helped to set itself free of the Communist barbarism ...”.

Coresi Publishing House is present, through the printed works, in the library of the family of Monica Lovinescu and Virgil Ierunca. Among the books published here, we have identified a part of the titles, printed in the same year of the foundation, under the name of the collection *1983 year of the political prisoner*.

A very suggestive book by its own title, which belongs to the collection *1983 year of the political prisoner*, is *The Black Book of Romania: 1944-1983*²⁹, written in Romanian and having as author *Comitetul pentru apărarea deținuților politici români* (The Committee for the Protection of the Romanian Political Prisoners), formed of Cicerone Ionițoiu, Remus Radia, Ovidiu Borcea, Nicolae Evolceanu, Vladimir Boutmy. The document begins with a preface signed by *Comitetul pentru apărarea deținuților politici români* (The Committee for the Protection of the Romanian Political Prisoners) and sympathetically called *Oameni ai lumii încă libere* (People of the Still Free World), in which it is stated that “Romania reached the brink of disaster because of the adverse policy pursued for four decades by a regime imposed and maintained by Moscow, apart from the interests of the Romanian people”³⁰, asking the Western world for support against the Communist tyranny.

As a conclusion, and through its actions, the rallying of the Romanian exile to the democratic values of the European identity, is more than obvious, understanding by European identity the embrace of the Western European democratic values, during the existence of the dictatorial, oppressive Communist Regime in Central and Eastern Europe.

²⁹ The book appeared in French, English and German.

³⁰ *Comitetul pentru apărarea deținuților politici români*, *Cartea neagră a României: 1944-1983*, Freiburg, Tipografia Coresi, p. 3.

CARTEA ȘOAPTELOR BY VARUJAN VOSGANIAN: THE PALIMPSEST OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Dana SALA*

Abstract. *Varujan Vosganian's "Cartea șoaptelor" exposes some paradoxes otherwise one-sidedly suppressed by the 20th century unfolding of history. These paradoxes live inside communities where traditions are alive. The first paradox: the stronger is the place held by the dead in the memory of the living ones, the stronger are the values of life within such a family or community. The second paradox: suffering is an intrinsic part of the life-and-death struggle. If suffering is acknowledged, this has a greater role than therapy, on a collective level. The third paradox: it is through suffering that the beauty of the world is intimate with our flesh, as Simone Weil put it. The fourth paradox: extreme privations of history made the Armenians rely on dwelling in words, in poetry and story-telling. The novel becomes a palimpsest gradually finding its own system of symbols inside the layers of other stories and of history itself*

Keywords: *collective memory, history, Armenian Genocide 1915, Armenian community in Romania, poetry and history, story-telling, suffering, the individual versus the community.*

Regarding the relationship between history and otherness, *Cartea șoaptelor* (*The Book of Whispers*, 2009), a novel written in Romanian by the Armenian writer Varujan Vosganian (born in 1958 in Craiova, brought up in Focșani), has relevant things to say. The very act of writing the book helps the author regain a communion through words with the missing ones of his folks. The novel becomes a palimpsest gradually finding its own system of symbols inside the layers of other stories and of history itself.

Cartea șoaptelor is a book in which the infancy mixes with the old age so as to revert the cycle of existence: instead of speaking about death as putting an end to life, it speaks about the life of the dead ones, within a family and within a community. The book does not display any intentional dwelling on fantastic literature. Memory is the realm where such a transgression is possible. In turn,

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the author places himself in the death and life continuum by letting grandfather Garabet start the book in his place: the vital force of our present lies in the lives that we had not lived, namely in the lives of our ancestors. The dead people live through the stories told about them and continue to be present through the objects inherited from them. Having finally grasped the words of his grandfather Garabet, the writer says:

„Eu sunt mai ales ce n-am putut împlini.
Cea mai adevărată dintre viețile pe care le port, ca un mănunchi de șerpi înnodat
la un capăt, e viața netrăită. Sunt un om care pe acest pământ am trăit nespus.
Și care tot pe atât n-am trăit¹”.

First, *Cartea șoaptelor* starts with a motto not taken from a livresque source, but from the paternal grandfather's dovetailing of stories.

„«Noi nu ne deosebim prin ceea ce suntem, ci prin morții pe care fiecare îi plânge» a spus bunicul meu Garabet”².

There are books dedicated to the coalescence of infancy and old age, as the most vulnerable ages which find resources to consolidate each other against the background of family crises. This is not the case of *Cartea șoaptelor*, where the two ages coexist, but the crisis is stirred up by the understanding of atrocious historical events. The un-lived lives of the writer are the lives belonging to people known to him or to his grandparents, lives tragically crushed or massacred by history's own upheavals.

If the atrocious deeds cannot be undone, if suffering cannot be reverted, the only way to establish a real communion of the present and the past is achieved by memory. Manifested in the lives of the descendants, memory is life-enriching. Instead of being a burden for the followers, memory is liberating. Life without the memory of the past is one-dimensional. Memory redeems the plenitude of life as it can fuse together the realms of the visible and of the invisible, anchoring life in a more encompassing reality.

Memory is the most reliable anchor of identity (see Paul Ricoeur, see J.-P. Vernant). One of the most important post-trauma battles of the 20th century is for the restitution of memory³. Hannah Arendt remarked that rulers in ancient societies were aware that even the best intended political action could have fatal consequences. There is a certain ambivalence in most political acts. What

¹ Varujan Vosganian, *Cartea șoaptelor*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 7.

² *Ibidem*, p. 5.

³ See Hannah Arendt, *The Promise of Politics*. Translated into Romanian: *Făgăduința politicii*, edited and with an introduction by Jerome Kohn, translated by Mihaela Bidilică-Vasilache, București, Humanitas, 2010, pp.76-100.

regulated this mechanism was the relationship between doing and forgiving⁴, preserved nowadays only in the religious sphere and lost in the sphere of political thinking, with inherent fatal consequences. Therefore, only giving space to forgiveness could bring about the liberation from destruction⁵. Memory needs forgiveness to set itself free from re-living the destruction.

Vosganian's book re-lives an Inferno which has an exact location in space and in time: the territory from Mamura to Deir-ez-Zor, where half of the Armenian population of the time was killed in 1915, during the Armenian Genocide. The author, born in 1958, is not a direct survivor himself, as his maternal grandfather Setrak was. However, the writer was a direct listener to the stories of the older Armenians in Focșani, Romania. By recapturing the memories of his childhood, the author reconnects with the bigger selves who surrounded him as a child. Rather than being a novel of the author's own recollections, the book is a crossroads of destinies. The most frequent phrase is "the Armenians of my childhood" or "the elders of my childhood". It is their generation that the author must understand, and it is their suffering which he must fathom. Grasping this suffering triggers a powerful transmutation of identity. The author can now let his own self be part of a collective conscience. Within the collective voice he has new courage, a new sense of a mission and a new understanding of the events. The book re-opens old wounds but has the power to see them integrated, engraved in the identity of the Armenian people.

As the title, *Cartea șoaptelor*, suggests, it presupposes the presence of a listener, the idea of reception as in the oral tradition. Who is the listener of whispers? On one end, the senders' end, the listeners are the dead, their memory can be retrieved only in the form of a book. On the receiving end, the listeners are the contemporaries and the writer himself. They must capture what the past has to tell them, they must attune their lives so as to find room for the past, to dwell it.

Why the intimacy of whispers? By listening to the whispers of the book that is being created, the listeners venture to understand. They hear exactly what the people forced to march in a convoy of death might have said, before becoming corpses thrown in mass-graves or floating human members on the Euphrates. There is always a vital part that cannot be buried and survives in other forms.

Who is the main character of the book? That is a lingering question, due to the multitude of characters and destinies followed. However, the protagonists seem to be the two grandfathers in connection with their century, a century which brought the incessant search for separated families. It also brought destruction in its most unconceivable forms and it resurfaced new forms of survival after destruction. The 20th century was also sadly recorded for its means to smother

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

any traces of mass-crimes, for the Holocaust, for its mass-graves and its cynical easiness to comply with mystifications (as in the cases of “staged” history within the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc of Stalin’s era).

“[*Cartea șoaptelor*] este o carte despre secolul al douăzecilea, cu războaiele lui mondiale, cu masacrele și gropile lui comune, cu ideologiile și asupririle lui. Dar nu numai. Fiecare loc, fiecare timp, fiecare neam au o *Carte a șoaptelor* a lor. Ea se trăiește, trebuie doar povestită.

Am fost întrebat adesea dacă întâmplările *Cărții șoaptelor* sunt adevărate. (...) Din această perspectivă, lucrurile stau astfel: personajele *Cărții șoaptelor*, în măsura în care a fi real înseamnă să te fi născut cândva, să fi avut un nume, o soartă și un mod în care toate acestea să se fi încheiat vreodată, sunt reale. În ce privește, însă, întâmplările relatate în *Cartea șoaptelor*, ele aparțin întregului spectru al lumii, și celui văzut, și celui nevăzut. Există laolaltă, situații reale, situații imaginate și altele pur și simplu imaginare. Poate că în loc de *Cartea șoaptelor*, acești povești s-ar fi putut numi *Cartea lecuirii*. Căci ea povestește despre oameni trecuți printr-o suferință de neînchipuit, de care fiecare a căutat să se vindece în felul său. Și cum realitatea este rareori leacul realității, poporul bunicilor mei s-a călăuzit după lucrurile imaginare și după lucrurile imaginate, anume cele care nu existau ori cele care, existând, ei se încăpățâneau să le vadă altfel de cum sunt”⁶.

Liberating paradoxes when individual life does not clash with the values of community

Cartea șoaptelor becomes, unintentionally, a book which exposes some paradoxes otherwise one-sidedly suppressed by the 20th century unfolding of history. These paradoxes live inside communities where traditions are alive. They are feared and quenched within the societies where the individual values clash the values of the community and rise above them.

The first paradox is about the relationship between the dead ones and their descendants, between death and life inside a community. The stronger the place held by the dead in the memory of the living ones, the stronger the values of life within such a family or community.

Varujan Vosganian makes a distinction between the remote dead Armenians, heroes of legends, such as Haig the King, king Ara the Handsome and Tigran the Great, versus the latter-day dead. The “older dead”, the heroes belonging to remote history or legends do not engage you in an act of forgiveness or forgetting. Their deaths were not avoidable; their deaths were free of guilt. But the people who were killed during upheavals died in our place. It could have been any of us. This way the “newly dead” ones know more about us than what we know about ourselves:

“În timp ce despre morții cei vechi e destul să ascultăm poveștile sau legendele și ei sunt atât de frumoși încât putem să ne împodobim casele cu chipurile lor, despre morții cei noi nimic nu e de ajuns. Pentru că ei fac parte din viețile noastre. Prin

⁶ Varujan Vosganian, *Cartea Șoaptelor. Album*, editura Ararat, 2009, pp. 5-6.

ochii noștri sau ai părinților ori ai bunicilor noștri, pe ei i-am văzut. (...) Morții cei noi au murit în locul nostru, de ce n-am fost noi aceia și au fost ei este întrebarea cea înfricoșătoare. Nu povestim despre ceea ce sunt morții cei noi, ei povestesc despre ceea ce noi suntem. Despre morții cei noi nu se poate vorbi fără a vorbi despre cei vii. (...) Într-un fel sau altul, fiecare dintre noi e contemporan acelor vremuri, un cerc suspendat și arzând prin care trecem cu toții, alungindu-ne. Nici unul dintre noi nu poate ocoli timpul acela, nu poate spune că nu l-a trăit. Pentru că, fără ceea ce s-a petrecut în 1915, viețile noastre nu pot fi explicate (...).

Cartea șoaptelor este *Cartea morților celor noi*. Atunci când povestesc despre cei care suntem, povestesc, de fapt, despre ei. Peste noi, cei care trecem, ei sunt realitatea care rămâne”⁷.

Strange as it seems, grandfather Garabet believed that memory is more important than death and, consequently, than life:

“În această ultimă privință, *Cartea șoaptelor* e oarecum neobișnuită, căci, spre deosebire de alte istorii, aici moartea e doar un detaliu, iar mai importantă decât moartea și, deci, decât viața, e memoria”⁸.

The second paradox is about suffering. This dimension present in *Cartea șoaptelor* is so rich in meanings that it requires a different chapter. I have dealt with it in another study, an article entitled *Memory as the Fathom of History. “Cartea șoaptelor” (The Book of Whispers) by Varujan Vosganian*⁹.

Suffering is seen here as a carrier of dignity and continuance. There is dignity in suffering because it is a form of survival. It attests the human power of endurance which cannot be overcome or conquered by death. Suffering is an intrinsic part of the life-and-death struggle. In case of extreme wounds, collective wounds, therapy does not work. If suffering is acknowledged, this has a greater role than therapy, on a collective level. Acknowledging people’s right to have their “un-healed wounds” restores the dignity present in these forms of suffering. Denying it, quenching it does not liberate suffering from its own destructive power. Within a community, this paradox reflects the only way to liberate suffering from its inherent destructive force: finding paths to acknowledge suffering and to find new meanings in it, meanings which shape the identity of a people as a whole.

“Îți trebuie multă forță pentru a putea suferi cu adevărat. Iată unul dintre drepturile fundamentale ale omului care nu este trecut, din păcate, în nicio Constituție și căruia doar cultura i-a fost până acum un îndărătnic apărător: dreptul la suferință. A consacra acest drept nu înseamnă a-i face pe oameni să

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

⁸ Varujan Vosganian, *Cartea șoaptelor*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 505.

⁹ Dana Sala, „Memory as the Fathom of History. *Cartea șoaptelor* (The Book of Whispers) by Varujan Vosganian”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea Fascicula Limba și Literatura Română*, volume 20, issue 1, 2013, pp. 53-66.

sufere, ci dimpotrivă, a accepta faptul că fiecare om, fiecare popor are simbolurile sale, reperele și valorile sale, are durerile și, în consecință, nevindecările sale ce trebuie respectate. Acesta este și sensul cuvintelor cu care bunicul meu a început, în locul meu, *Cartea șoptelor(...)*¹⁰”.

Suffering is on the side of life. It encompasses the power of endurance; it asserts the power to withstand death.

When death occurs as the most absurd experience, suffering is the human strive for dignity.

A third paradox is to find meanings in suffering, to invalidate its destructive potential. How will the writer of the book of whispers find a way to reconcile these things, **affliction and beauty**? Life, suffering and beauty are related in author's grandfathers' images. The paradox is that the tutelary presence of the book, grandfather Garabet, was the one who loved beauty in all its forms and he was the one to talk mostly about death and heritage. He used to play the violin. He was a multitalented photograph. The world seen through his lenses bears that unmistakable mark of photography. In the opening of the book, grandfather Garabet appears in the form of an old angel, casting his shadow in the nut-tree of their courtyard. When the child sees his nut-husk stained hands, he grasps his first lesson about the power of poetic symbols and about love beyond death, about loss and about love. Under his protective shadow, Varujan, the child, understands how love can unite two beings, despite the different realities they belong to.

The whole book is under the sign of transmutation of individual consciousness into collective consciousness. The whole process of writing so as to achieve this transmutation is imperatively called by the nearness between the dead and the living ones, a nearness that must find its thingly base in the form of the book.

“Înțelegând, cu firea lui de artist, că povestea vieții oricărui om e alcătuită doar în parte din ceea ce trăiește în timp real, restul, în părți egale, fiind alcătuit din lucrurile de care îți amintești, din lucrurile pe care le speri și cele de care te temi, bunicul și-a alcătuit o viață paralelă, compusă din fotografii, numeroase la vârsta tinereții, mai puține la vârsta maturității și mai deloc la bătrânețe. Nu vă lăsați înșelați de faptul că în *Cartea șoptelor* se vorbește de bătrânii copilăriei mele. Garabet Vosganian, unul din eroii acestei cărți, nu este, în ciuda vârstei sale, un om bătrân”¹¹.

Simone Weil figured out the relationship between beauty and affliction. It is through suffering that the beauty of the world is intimate with our flesh:

“Joy and suffering are two equally precious gifts both of which must be savored to the full, each one in its purity, without trying to mix them. Through joy, the

¹⁰ Varujan Vosganian, *Cartea Șoptelor. Album*, editura Ararat, 2009, p. 5.

¹¹ Varujan Vosganian, *Cartea șoptelor*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 226.

beauty of the world penetrates our soul. Through suffering it penetrates our body. We could no more become friends of God through joy alone than one becomes a ship's captain by studying books on navigation. The body plays a part in all apprenticeships." (Simone Weil, the essay *The Love of God and Affliction*)¹².

The novelist Varujan Vosganian bears the same first name as the Armenian poet Daniel Varujan, killed at the beginning of the 20th century, together with a generation of Armenian talent. Through his name, the writer is the carrier of a destiny. **A fourth paradox** is the connection between **uprootedness and dwelling inside words**.

The deportations made the Armenians rely on their survival in words, in poetry and story-telling. Words played the role of a more protective dwelling than the actual land. The functions of memory can be well retrieved in contemporary society, provided that there is a collectivity with whom the individual identifies. As Paul Ricoeur states, memory is the keeper of the depth of time¹³. Instead of struggling with history, *Cartea soaptelor* finds its way to retrieve the depth of time through poetry. Poetry captures the flame-like simultaneity with memory of the past. Story-telling is necessary to create the temporal structures able to transmit the experience through centuries, from a generation to another. Story-telling makes memory bearable and durable.

Poetry dwells and creates the simultaneity, perpetuated by story-telling which creates the movement from the past to present and future. When Martin Heidegger chose to ponder on the art as an origin, he did emphasize its "thingly element", the medium required for any creation which is a work of art¹⁴. The German philosopher devoted to the chapter "Thing and Work" the same importance as to the chapter "The Work and Truth". We can infer from this that judging the work of art only in abstract terms is a mistake, just like the separation between subject and object "World is never an object that stands before us and can be seen"¹⁵.

Unless the book achieves its "thingly character" (in Heideggerian terms), it is unable to comprise the resistance the earth opposes to the world, in the terms coined by Heidegger in *The Origin of the Work of Art*. In is within this struggle that the Openness remains open for the advent of truth in the work of art. If there is a way to transgress any of the limits of representation, poetry is able to do that. *Cartea soaptelor* is a novel, but a novel filled with poetic substance. Before this

¹² *The Simone Weil Reader*, edited by George A. Panichas, David MacKay Company New York, accessible here: <http://www.cliffarnold.com/weillloveofgod.pdf>, consulted on 28.04.2013.

¹³ Paul Ricoeur, *Memoria, istoria, uitarea*; translated into Romanian by Ilie Gyurcsik and Margareta Gyurcsik, Timișoara, Amarcord, 2001 (original title: *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*), p. 86.

¹⁴ Martin Heidegger, *The Origin of The Work of Art*, in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, translated and introduction by Alfred Hofstadter, Harper and Row, New York, 1971.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

novel, Varujan Vosganian had published three volumes of poetry and a volume of short-story. Poetry does not occur as verse, but rather as a way of circulating the metaphors and symbols, as soon as they are created, and pushing them to hold open the strife between earth and world:

“*The world worlds* (...) In a world's worlding is gathered that spaciousness out of which the protective grace of the gods is granted or withheld. Even this doom of the god remaining absent is a way in which world worlds. A work, by being a work, makes space for that spaciousness. «To make space for» means here especially to liberate the Open and to establish it in its structure. This in-stalling occurs through the erecting mentioned earlier. The work as work sets up a world. The work holds open the Open of the world¹⁶”.

Conclusions: *Cartea soaptelor* is a book in which the infancy mixes with the old age so as to revert the cycle of existence: instead of speaking about death as putting an end to life, it speaks about the life of the dead ones, within a family and within a community. The novel becomes a palimpsest, gradually finding its own system of symbols inside the layers of other stories and of history itself.

Varujan Vosganian has written a novel which has a depository character¹⁷. Memory is the realm where the transgression is possible. Vosganian's *Cartea soaptelor* exposes some paradoxes otherwise one-sidedly suppressed by the 20th century unfolding of history. These paradoxes live inside communities where traditions are alive. They are feared and quenched within the societies where the individual values clash the values of the community and rise above them. The first paradox: the stronger is the place hold by the dead in the memory of the living ones, the stronger are the values of life within such a family or community. The second paradox: suffering is an intrinsic part of the life-and-death struggle. In case of extreme wounds, collective wounds, therapy does not work. If suffering is acknowledged, this has a greater role than therapy, on a collective level. The third paradox: it is through suffering that the beauty of the world is intimate with our flesh, as Simone Weil put it into words. The fourth paradox: the deportations made the Armenians rely on their survival in words, in poetry and story-telling. This is a more protective form of dwelling than the actual land when a people is caught in the upheavals of history. Varujan Vosganian chose to overwrite the language of history, even of what was merciless in that history, even of what was unimaginable, through the language of poetry. His artistic universe has “the nostalgia of the world as unity” as Marius Miheț put it¹⁸, while Vosganian's poetry “bears the mark of mystical fabulousness with the

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp.43-44.

¹⁷ Iulian Boldea, *Scritura ca depoziție*, in „România Literară”, nr. 43/2013, p. 16.

¹⁸ Marius Miheț, *Scenarii caleidoscopice* (about Varujan Vosganian, *Jocul celor o sută de frunze și alte povestiri*), in „România Literară”, nr. 44/2013, p. 14.

self mirrored by three stances: death, resurrection and light”¹⁹. There were epochs in history when poetry was the only dimension that could make a meaning out of the events. The novel finds a purpose in its relationship and kinship with poetry, as a way to keep open the different layers of prose and of story-telling.

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¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

THE RELATIONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION BETWEEN 2009-2013: ACHIEVEMENTS, PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

Viorel BOLDUMA*

Abstract. *This article mentions the important issues of the relations between Moldova and the EU in 2009-2013. The relations previously established have been continued in this period of time. They were prompted in particular by the democratic forces in Republic of Moldova, which have constituted the AEI-1, AIE-2 and Pro-European's coalition. Among the most important accomplishments we can highlight the continued fulfillment of the previous by determined arrangements by the Eastern Partnership, the signing and entry into force of the Convention on Small Border Traffic as well as the beginning of the negotiations on Association Agreement between Moldova-EU, free movement and free trade. Also during this period the EU has given the Republic of Moldova a major financial assistance through various programs.*

Keywords: *Moldova, relations, European Union, achievements, progress prospects.*

Moldova's relations with the European Union (EU) were launched with the signing on 28 November 1994 of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA), which entered into force on 1 July 1998 for an initial period of 10 years with the possibility of extension. After the entry into force of the PCA, Moldova's relations with the EU were placed in a formal legal framework, which laid the legal basis of the program and TACIS assistance to Moldova. PCA has the following objectives: to continue the political dialogue, to promote trade and investment, cooperation in legal, economic, social, financial and cultural support Moldovan efforts to strengthen democracy, to develop the economy and to complete the transition to a market economy¹.

An important step towards the EU was signed in Brussels on 22 February 2005: the Action Plan Republic of Moldova - European Union, with a temporary

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¹ Nicolaie Enciu, Valentina Enciu, *Construcția Europeană (1945-2007). Curs universitar*. Editura Civitas, Chișinău, 2008, p. 297.

framework for the implementation of three years, until 2008². Its achievement was to contribute to the APC conditions. This document is a good example by EU Neighbourhood Policy after the enlargement of 1 May 2004³. This framework encompasses the Communication Strategy on European Integration of the Republic of Moldova, adopted on 29 December 2007 by the Government⁴.

Moldova and the EU priorities for the years 2009-2013 are:

- European Integration
- Active involvement of the whole society, all political forces and relevant external actors to transform Moldova into a European state with a real prospect of EU membership;
- Adopting and promoting European values and standards in all areas – political, economic, social and legal, by implementing the Copenhagen criteria and to give the Council of Europe commitments;
- Harmonization of national legislation with the EU *acquis*;
- Strengthen the legal and institutional framework for the promotion of European integration necessary at the government and each ministry level, so that the process of European integration becomes a major priority in each governmental entity;
- Deepening bilateral relations with EU member states;
- Capitalize fully on the opportunities offered by the “Eastern Partnership”
- Conclusion of the Association Agreement with the EU;
- Promoting real economic integration with the EU, including the conclusion of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade;
- Determining the dialogue with the EU visa liberalization domain, the purpose of signing a Roadmap on visa, so as to obtain the elimination of visas for Moldovan citizens;
- Implementing actions consistent with the Mobility Partnership between the EU and Moldova;
- Ensuring energy security through the instruments available to the EU and accession to the European energy market;
- Considering connecting the Southern Corridor of transit of energy resources from the Caspian Basin to Europe and other Options for energy security of the Republic of Moldova;
- Connecting the Republic of Moldova to the European transport networks, the liberalization of air transport;

² Lilia Zabolotnaia (coord.), *Uniunea Europeană: Istorie, Instituții, Politici. Republica Moldova în noua Arhitectură Europeană*, Editura CEP USM, Chișinău, 2007, p. 87.

³ Heather Grabbe, *Puterea de transformare a UE. Europeanizarea prin intermediul condițiilor de aderare în Europa centrală și de Est*, Editura Epigraf, Chișinău, 2008, p. 150.

⁴ Nicolaie Bragari, *Integrarea Europeană*, Editura Evrica, Chișinău, 2008, p. 185.

- Increasing the role of the EU in resolving the Transnistrian conflict;
- Implementing strategies for communication (internal and external) with the company and external factors in the EU, and other international, European integration.

As a confirmation of what was said, come the Government programs of the Alliance for European Integration (AIG) -1 and AIG-2, led by Prime Minister Vlad Filat and pro-European coalition, led in May 2013, by the Prime-Minister Iurie Leanca⁵.

Thus, both government programs -1 AIG, AIG -2 and pro-European coalition as a whole, aims to create a high level of welfare of Moldovan citizens, and achieve other important changes in society which would accelerate the integration of Moldova into the European Union. Consequently, European integration is a fundamental priority of domestic and foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova. The coherent policies to Europeanize the social, political and economic life of the country and association agreement with the European Union, will make it possible, within a reasonable time, to turn Moldova into a country eligible to join EU. Following the implementation of the Government Program, Moldova will become a trusted partner and will be welcome into the international community. It will achieve successful negotiations on the Association Agreement, including a free trade agreement, with deep and comprehensive EU and initiate the negotiation of EU membership⁶.

A new impetus in the EU-RM relations is the launching in May 2009, of the Eastern Partnership (EaP), a Polish-Swedish initiative trying to update the relations between the EU and the six Eastern European neighbors (Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia). EaP's main objectives are political association and economic integration of the six EaP countries with the European Union. The Eastern Partnership was created to strengthen the Eastern dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), launched in 2004 and, in this sense, has been hailed as a great step towards differentiating the Eastern and Southern dimensions of the ENP. It provides a total allocation of € 600 million by 2013 to promote democratic reforms and economic integration in the six countries. The Eastern Partnership aims to strengthen relations with six former Soviet countries. EaP bilateral dimension is paramount. At the bilateral level, relations between the EU and EaP countries will be based on association agreements, free trade agreements and comprehensive (DCFTA) and visa liberalization agreements to be negotiated with each of the six countries. Besides the bilateral dimension between the EU and each member state, the EaP multilateral dimension is more important. Multilateral cooperation is based on four thematic platforms:

⁵ <http://www.gov.md/doc.php?l=ro&idc=445&id=3729>

⁶ <http://unimedia.info/stiri/doc-programul-de-guvernare-al-cabinetului-leanca--aprobat-61353.html>

- Democracy, good governance and stability;
- Economic integration and converges with EU policies;
- Energy Security;
- Contacts between people⁷.

Another important moment in EU country is the approval on 18 November 2009 by the Moldovan government of the tariff agreement on small border with Romania, which entered into force on 26 February 2010. Thus, 1,220,000 citizens of the Republic of Moldova could benefit from the dispositions of this agreement. Moldovan citizens residing in the border area within a radius of at least 30 kilometers obtained the right to visa-free travel to Romania. Initially, these citizens were able to improve their traffic permit valid for a period of 2-5 years. Small traffic permits are issued by the Romanian consulates in Moldova (Chişinău, Bălţi, Cahul and Ungheni). The document stipulates that, in order to cross the border, border area residents must have a traffic permit, must not be a threat to the public order, must not be expelled from the Romanian territory or banned from entering Romania. The border stamps don't apply to small traffic. Permits are issued upon presentation of a valid passport and documents showing that the person has been a legitimate resident for at least one year in the border area and that there are reasons for crossing the border, under the Convention. Residents are subjected to border control and need to possess one of the following documents: identity card, residence permits for foreign citizens or stateless persons identity⁸.

Very important is the start on January 12, 2010 in Chişinău, of the EU-Moldova Association Agreement negotiations, which come to replace the previous document of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (entered into force in July 1998) and open a new stage in relations of cooperation, in particular through strengthening the political dialogue and deepening sectoral cooperation. However, the Association Agreement does not expressly provide any formula which would give Moldova European integration perspective or a candidate status. So far, after 12 rounds of negotiations, most chapters of the Association Agreement have been concluded, on: Political Dialogue and Reform Foreign Policy Cooperation and Security, Justice, Freedom and Security; Contacts between people⁹.

An important event in EU-Moldova was the twelfth meeting of the EU-Moldova Cooperation Council, held on 15 June 2010 in Luxembourg. The Moldovan delegation was led by Vlad Filat, the Prime Minister of Moldova and the European Union was represented by Diego Lopez Garrido, Secretary of State

⁷ http://www.eap-csf.md/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46&Itemid=84

⁸ <http://ori.mai.gov.ro/stiri/citeste/ro/12/26-februarie-2010>

⁹ Victoria Bucătaru, *Republica Moldova şi Uniunea Europeană: de la cooperare la integrare (2011-2012)*, in <http://www.apc.md/doc.php?l=ro&id=1874&idc=156>

for European Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain. The meeting discussed the progress in Moldova-EU relations and the main results of the implementation of reforms in Moldova, agreed at the EU-Moldova Cooperation Council of 21 September 2009. Among the most important achievements mentioned were the following:

- The successful negotiation of the Association Agreement;
- Starting the structured dialogue on Human Rights;
- RM Joining the Energy Community Treaty;
- Creating the conditions for launching RM-EU Dialogue visas;
- The preparation to negotiate the Free Trade Zone Deep and accordingly;
- The significant increase in financial assistance from the European Union to support reforms;
- The EU support to fully implement the internal reforms and the management capacity through the appointment of EU Summit and completing preparations to provide necessary support through capacity building program;
- Moldova's active participation in the Eastern Partnership¹⁰.

Another important aspect of this period is the liberalization of the visa regime between the EU and Moldova.

Moldova's visa dialogue with the EU was initiated as a result of the provision inserted in the Joint Declaration of the Prague Eastern Partnership Summit and the Joint Declaration of the EU-Moldova Cooperation Council of 21 December 2009 which expressly states the visa free regime as a long-term goal that can be achieved gradually and implemented after reforms. After the assessment mission on visa liberalization from 1 to 3 March 2010, the visa dialogue was officially launched in the EU-Moldova Cooperation Council on 15 March 2010. This official launch was followed by two assessment missions in September 2010, which prepared an assessment report, drafted under the EU-Moldova Action Plan on visa liberalization. In this context, on 25 October 2010, the EU Council of Foreign Ministers recognized Moldova's progress towards visa liberalization and the European Commission to submit a draft Action Plan. Finally, the Action Plan on visa liberalization (approved on 16 December 2010) was officially presented to the European Commission for the Affairs Cecilia Malmstrom on 24 January 2011 in Chişinău. In order to obtain a visa-free regime, RM will take the following steps: document security, including biometric passports, illegal migration and border management, security and public order, foreign relations¹¹.

As part of the Association Agreement with the EU, there was initiated a dialogue on establishment of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) between Moldova and the EU. Agreement on the creation of the Deep

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ http://www.border.gov.md/files/Policy_Statewatch_ro.pdf

and Comprehensive Free Trade involves the gradual liberalization of trade in goods and services, reducing customs duties and non-technical barriers, abolition of quantitative restrictions and harmonization of legislation of the Republic of Moldova to the EU. Unlike the current trade regime, which is unilaterally granted by the EU for a limited term, DCFTA will be a multilateral agreement concluded for an unlimited period, providing much higher export benefits and long-term predictability for business. The overall objective of the Republic of Moldova is to fit all the products of our country Nomenclature of Goods Agreement provisions¹².

Dynamic sectorial dialogue and cooperation have contributed to a significant increase in support for the EU to strengthen democracy, the rule of law, human rights and economic reforms and improvement of living conditions of the population. Assistance to the Republic of Moldova to the EU increased substantially over the years, and by 2013 it reached about 100 million EUROS annually¹³.

Thus, from the above we can highlight the following: previously established relations with the EU continued with a special impulsivity between 2009-2013. They were mainly driven by democratic forces in Moldova, which constituted AIE AIE-1-2 and pro-European coalition. Among other major achievements we can highlight are the provisions under the Eastern Partnership, the signing and entry into force of the Convention on Small Tariff Border Dialogue and the launching and completing of negotiations on Moldova-EU Association Agreement, and in particular the DCFTA visa-free regime, next Summit of the Eastern Partnership that will take place in Vilnius on 28 November 2013 will be agreed upon. Moreover, during this period the EU has given Moldova an important financial assistance through various programs.

¹² <http://www.ape.md/doc.php?l=ro&id=1874&idc=156>

¹³ http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/moldova/eu_moldova/index_mo.htm

CONSIDERATIONS ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY. AN INVESTIGATION AMONG STUDENTS IN HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ORADEA (YEAR 2013)

Antonio FAUR*

Abstract. *Based on questions raised by Eurobarometers, we planned to achieve an inquiry among students in History at the University of Oradea to show how they identify themselves as Romanian and European citizens, and whether they have an awareness of their European citizenship aside from the Romanian one. The second question focused on how they see Romania's accession to the European Union nowadays, six years after the event. We have to warn that it is an estimate, as all polls are. Although there are different opinions of the students in all three years of study, most of them answered that they are first Romanian, then European citizens. As the tables show, 1st year bachelor students (admitted in 2012) have a greater awareness of their European citizenship, while 3rd year students are less convinced of its importance. As far as Romania's accession to the European Union is concerned, 1st year students are more convinced it is a positive fact. Consequently, information should be more rigorous concerning the meaning of European citizenship and the benefits of joining the European Union as early as secondary-school and continuing through faculty.*

Keywords: *European identity, accession, investigation, students in History, University of Oradea.*

The issue of the formation and gradual enlargement of the European Union is not new. The initiators and supporters belonging to different decision-making levels and to different environments believe in its present and particularly in its future. It is not only the optimism needed to bring to an end every action, but mostly it is the understanding of the need to achieve this project, so that its materialisation may confirm the domination of the reason providing peace and welfare to the continent. Thus, the reason of such research on (both national and

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European) identities is fully justified, as mutations occurring in collective mentality are slow, particularly when referring to core concepts and realities fundamentally altering people's convictions.

European construction is still ongoing, and questions on its success, or fears of failure, are still expressed, especially against the background of the current financial crisis.

In our opinion, beyond the undoubted economic and political success of the European Union, the great challenge will be to shape an awareness of the European citizenship including national awareness. Being aware of this issue, Western European historians at the beginning of the tenth decade of the past century analysed and debated on the matter and saw a "current deficit of European awareness"¹. We still consider this situation relevant. Historian René Girault expressed a justified point of view on the matter, as follows: "Can we go to a more uniform Europe as long as the citizens of this Europe do not feel Europeans?"². We think that the answer is obvious, although it depends on individual choice. Certainly, this is determined or influenced by several elements, such as history, language, tradition, collective mentalities, religious and political convictions and, last but not least, economic interests. At the same time, in order to accurately perceive the difficulties the *European project* faces, we have to consider the inherent historical differences relating to the process of the establishment of nation-state in Western and Eastern Europe, since we can speak of a different historical evolution of the two sides of the continent.

Obviously, countries such as England, France and other kingdoms in the West had a certain historical evolution. There, national awareness developed earlier than in Central and Eastern European states and had a direct influence on the appearance and evolution of national feeling: "This uneven existence of nation-states, the different circumstances of their appearance (voluntary or imposed accession) have an influence on the nature of national feeling"³. As historical experiences differ based on "historical and geographical variable conditions, any European construction has to consider these elements"⁴.

As national awareness occurred in Western Europe, which was a long-lasting organic change, we might assume that it would be the same in the case of an awareness of belonging to Europe and of a European identity at peoples in the eastern part of the continent by extending the phenomenon from elites to broad lines of population. Yet, there are still barriers. We would like to remind one of the most important: the inexistence of a common language, an issue devoid of short-term perspective for a solution.

¹ René Girault, *Identitate și conștiință europeană în secolul al XX-lea*, Editura Curtea Veche, București, 2004, p. 13.

² *Ibidem*, p. 11

³ *Ibidem*, p. 20

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 21

Before, we will make a brief introduction to certain *theories* referring to the construction of the European identity. Usually, yet not compulsorily, any identity is based on a feeling for one's birth place, or for the community, whether village or city, for people, friends, or acquaintances. This is a sociological fact. However, this feeling for home, family, or homeland, is not identical for all members of the society. To most people, the place of birth and its specific experiences have a deep imprint on a person's memory and social actions. Given the establishment of a European Common Market, we witness a modern expression of identity involving the artificial construction of an identity through the state that "redistributes the benefits in exchange for the loyalty of the citizens to the state"⁵.

Nevertheless, those who consider identity as natural, the representatives of the *primordialist approach*, or the essentialists, consider that "without affective identification, it will take generations"⁶ for a European identity in all aspects to efficiently work in the future.

The adepts of the *Postmodernist theory* consider identities as equal in value; thus, neither prevails over the other. Realities postmodernists consider important for a cross-border identity, such as the lesbian movement, football team supporters, European political parties, music bands, or retired people's lifestyle, cannot be ignored or denied. Even though they are still at the beginning, they are to develop in time.

Postmodernists raise the issue of "an important element of modern democratic society... group proliferation. Yet even theoreticians of democracy consider them groups and not 'identities'"⁷, given the several trends specific to western countries, so applicable to social and economic realities in the area.

In its turn, the *social-democratic* doctrine might determine the establishment of a *European political identity* particularly in Europe due to the model of *social welfare state*. The abovementioned theories are still to be confirmed by the future evolution of the history of the Europeans.

For the time being, we will confine ourselves to inquiries on a European level, such as *Eurobarometers*, sociological methods for periodical evaluation of the European citizens' opinions on the future of the Union, on the existence of a European citizenship etc.

Starting with the questions as set out in Eurobarometers, we have planned to carry out an inquiry among students in History to see how they identify themselves as Romanian or as European citizens, whether they consider themselves first Romanian and then European citizens, or the other way around,

⁵ Laurie Buonanno, Ann Deakin, *European Identity*, in „European Union Enlargement”, edited by Neil Nugent, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 85

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 85

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 86

if and to which extent they have an awareness of their European citizenship six years after Romania's accession to the European Union. It is an estimate, as each poll is. The inquiry model is based on the European Eurobarometer. Here are the questions and answer options they could choose from:

1. How do you consider yourself:
 - a. A Romanian citizen
 - b. A Romanian and European citizen
 - c. A European citizen and Romanian citizen
 - d. I do not know.
2. How do students in History consider Romania's accession to the European Union?
 - a. As a good thing
 - b. As a bad thing
 - c. Neither good, nor bad
 - d. I do not know.

Bachelor students in History enrolled in all years of study have been asked these questions. The results are expressed in percentage, as follows:

1st year in History

Question 1	Question 2
A) Romanian citizen: 41.66%	A) Good: 66,6 %
B) Romanian then European: 58.34 %	B) Bad: 8,33 %
C) European then Romanian: 0 %	C) Neither good, nor bad: 16,66 %
D) I do not know: 0 %	D) I do not know: 8,33 %

2nd year in History:

Question 1	Question 2
A) Romanian citizen: 50 %	A) Good: 38,88%
B) Romanian then European: 50 %	B) Bad: 22,24%
C) European then Romanian: 0%	C) Neither good, nor bad: 38,88%
D) I do not know: 0%	D) I do not know: 0%

3rd year in History:

Question 1	Question 2
A) Romanian citizen: 80%	A) Good: 6,66%
B) Romanian then European: 20%	B) Bad: 20 %
C) European then Romanian: 0%	C) Neither good, nor bad: 73,34 %
D) I do not know: 0%	D) I do not know: 0%

According to the responses provided by the students, we have the following data:

Question	Year of study		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
1. How do you consider yourself:			
a. Romanian	41.66 %	50 %	80 %
b. Romanian, then European citizen	58.34 %	50 %	20 %
c. European, then Romanian citizen	0 %	0 %	0 %
d. I do not know	0 %	0 %	0 %
2. How do students in History consider Romania's accession to the European Union?			
a. Good	66.6 %	38.88%	6.66%
b. Bad	8.33 %	22.24%	20%
c. Neither good, nor bad	16.66 %	38.88%	73.34%
d. I do not know	8.33 %	0 %	0%

Thus, we can notice certain different opinions among the students in the three years of study. As one can see in the tables above, 1st year students (enrolled in 2012) have the greatest awareness of their European citizenship according to *question 1*, while 3rd year students are more “traditionalist” (according to the inquiry). In general, most of them consider themselves to be first Romanian citizens. Obviously, none of them states they are first European citizens, then Romanian citizens. Hence, we can draw the conclusion that we need an increasing promotion of the idea of European Union and European citizenship.

Certainly, in our opinion, this action of thorough information on the role of the European Union should be carried out in pre-university years. Therefore, we consider it necessary to insert in the 11th and 12th grades a subject on *European Civic Education* focusing on basic elements on the notion. Thus, the Romanian youth could be more familiar with the importance of Romania's belonging to the European Union and with the condition of a Romanian and a European citizen at the same time. Naturally, the activity would continue on a higher level on the three levels of higher education. We consider it an action of great importance for all generations.

As far as responses to the question referring to Romania's accession to the European Union are concerned, they are even more obvious from the perspective of a genuine understanding of students' insight on a relevant issue.

In identifying the causes of this situation, we consider we should envisage the recent economic depression that has borne a strong imprint on the pro-European spirit of the Romanians, which have reached 80% at a certain point. Other influences are represented by the political confrontations in which European Union decision-makers have been involved, thus leading to a sceptic trend among the Romanian electors.

The main conclusion we have reached is that young students need more consistent, accurate and stimulating information on our presence and endeavours in the European Union to provide a faster economic progress and a broad openness to Europeanism.